A
HISTORY OF
! RSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR to AKBAR]

12/95

PART III.—AKBAR

BY

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FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY OF INDIA

D. O. No. 403C.

Viceroy's Camp
India
22nd October, 1930

Dear Sir,

His Excellency asks me to acknowledge, with thanks, the first 3 volumes of your History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, which you have so kindly sent him

He greatly appreciates your kind present and looks forward to reading the books as soon as he has a little leisure.

— —

DR R A NICHOLSON, LITT D.,
University Professor Cambridge

12 Harvey Road,
Cambridge
September 20 1930

Dear Professor Ghani

Many thanks for Part III of your meritorious History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court.

You are to be congratulated on the completion of a work which brings together so much interesting material and provides, for the first time, a systematic survey of the subject.

شبنم بگو که بر ورقِ گل فتاده است

کان قطره‌ها ز دیدهٔ بلبل فتاده است

(اک

بست زنجیرِ جنون در گردنِ مجنونِ زار

عشق دستِ دوستی درگردنش افکندہ ست

(اکبر)

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ERRATA

NOTE.—The kind reader is requested to correct the following mistakes that have crept in notwithstanding the utmost care taken in getting the book printed —

P v, line 2 from last, add 'a' before 'new era'

P 4, line 8 from last, give a comma after 'freely'

P 66, F N 1, add 'His' before 'Prophet'

P 202, line 10 from last, read 'channels' for 'channel'

P 203, line 7, add 'upon' after 'played'

P. 208, line 5, read 'persistently' for 'consistently'

P 227, F N 1, line 7, add 'who' after '*darwish*'

P 282, last line, read 'Akbar' for 'Akba'

P 286, line 8 from the last, add 'a' before 'splendid'

P 289, last line, read 'mazy' for 'many'

P. 257, line 3 from last, read 'at' for 'in'

* P 296, line 8, read 'ار' for 'ا'

P 297, line 9, read 'its' for 'his'

P 303, line 2 from last, read 'very' for 'same'

A
HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

PART III—AKBAR—THE GREAT

CHAPTER I

The news of the fatal fall of Humāyūn from the terrace of his library was communicated to the young Prince through an old and trusted servant of the State, Ouchi Kākā, specially deputed for this purpose by Bairam Khān. Humāyūn's swoon (بیهوشی) lasted four days: on the fifth day he expired. Soon after his death, the young Prince, Akbar, destined to become the greatest of the Mughal kings in India in administrative policy and literary patronage, ascended the throne of Hindūstān at Kalānaur in the year 963 A. H.[1]

Akbar's accession to the throne at Kalānaur at the age of thirteen. congratulatory poems.

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[1] Jauhar gives the date 962 A H. Cf

جلال الدین محمد اکبر ۹۶۲ در مقام کلانور بتاریخ سنه اثنین و ستین و تسعمایه بر تخت خلافت تشریف آوردند

[Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'at, B.M MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 145a.]
In support of this he also quotes a chronogram which gives the same date (*vide* Part II, supra).
It is further supported by the author of *Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh*, Hasan Beg Rumlu, Humāyūn's contemporary, as quoted by Browne [*vide* Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. [illegible], fn. 1.]

رست فتنهٔ دوران جهان بسک امن

که بادشاهِ جهان پای بر سریر نهاد

The flower of hope blossomed, and the breeze
of fulfilment blew,
God satisfied the aspirations of the people in
an ideal manner ;
From the ravages of *Time*, the world became
immune,
For the king of the world placed his foot on
the throne

He was at this time too young to manage the affairs of the State and to control the critical situation with which he was faced. The supreme power was therefore vested in the veteran hands of Bairam Khān to check the growing peril from Hemū who had conquered the environs of Delhi and was advancing further to seize the throne of Hindūstān. A battle was fought in which Hemū was defeated and taken prisoner. This victory was an achievement of the greatest significance in the history of the Mughal rule as laying the foundation of Akbar's empire firm in India Amir 'Abdul Hai *Sadr* composed the following chronogram to commemorate this event ·

[1]جلال الدین محمد اکبر آن شاهِ فلک رفعت

بعونِ لطفِ حق بگرفت هندوے سیه رو را

[1] Nafa'is-ul-Ma'asir, B.M MSS., Or 1761, fol. 64b.

Although only a boy of thirteen,[1] his name was ceremoniously read in the *Khutba* for the valid recognition of his kingship. As usual, the court poets poured chronograms and congratulatory poems, evincing great literary skill and poetic subtleties. A specimen of each is given below .

[2] از خطبهٔ شاه رفعت منبر شد

وز سکهٔ عدل کارها چون زر شد

بنشست به تخت سلطنت اکبر شاه

تاریخ جلوس نصرت اکبر شد

From the *Khutba* of the Shāh the pulpit was exalted,
And from the coin of his justice, the affairs became as gold ;
The king Akbar sat on the throne of Empire,
The date of the accession was found in '*nusrat-i-Akbar*' (the victory of Akbar)

[3] گل امید شگفت و وزید باد مراد

مراد خلق خدا آنچنانکه باید داد

---

[1] Cf the accession of Bābur to the throne of Farghāna and Andijān in the twelfth year of his age Also, cf Shāh Tahmāsp's accession to the throne of Persia at the age of ten

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol II, p 9.

[3] Farishta Vol I p 244

دبیرِ صنع بر لوحِ بقا با خامهٔ قدرت
رقم زد بهرِ سالِ فتح او بگرفت هیمو را

Jalāluddin Muhammad Akbar is a king of
celestial dignity.
Who captured by the grace of God the dark-
faced infidel,
The author of *Nature* on the tablet of Eternity
with the pen of Power.
Wrote the chronogram of this victory '*bigrift
Hemū rā*' (captured Hemū)

His birth and plea for names

He was born of Hamida Bānū Begam, daughter of Shaikh 'Ali Akbar Jāmi, tutor to Humāyūn's youngest brother Mirzā Hindāl. Although she was not of royal blood, her parents bore a distant relationship with Humāyūn's family This was probably why her father had been appointed by Humāyūn to be Preceptor to Hindāl. It also accounts for the reason why she observed no ceremony with Humāyūn, and appeared before him along with other ladies and gentlemen of the royal house, with whom she mixed freely without formalities Humāyūn was at this time crownless, and did not command the prestige of a king as he did in his former days He was a fugitive with but a few attendants crossing the desert of Sindh in 948 A H, when he was struck with the beauty of this young lady and secured her in marriage When she and her husband were yet in Sindh, Akbar was born at 'Umarkōt in 949 A.H.

He was given the title of Badruddīn[1] (the *Full Moon* of the Faith), for the simple reason of his birth having taken place on the night of the full moon. His name Muhammad Akbar was derived from that of his maternal grandfather, Shaikh Alī 'Akbar 'Jāmī[2] (Humāyūn's father-in-law). His title *Jalāl-uddīn* (the glory of the faith) was conferred upon him later, on his ascending the throne at Kalānaur in the fourteenth year of his age.

---

[1] Vincent Smith has mistaken this title for the name, Cf

"History knows Akbar only as Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar The true story of the real date of birth and of the original naming is preserved in the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn's personal attendant Jauhar who was present when the name Badruddīn was conferred for the reason stated " [Akbar, the Great Mogul, p 19 Second edition, Oxford, 1919]

Jauhar's diction does not support the above statement of Vincent Smith, and thus exposes the futility of his argument. Cf

وقت تولد حضرت شاهزاده خلدالله ملکه سلطانه شب چهاردهم
روز شنبه بود ماه شعبان شب چهاردهم را بدر میگویند پس شهزاده محمد اکبر
غازی بدرالدین والدنیا هر دو عالم منور در خانه تشریف آوردند و
خطاب جلال الدین و بدرالدین یکی است -

The time of the birth of his royal highness, the Prince, may God perpetuate his kingdom, was Saturday night, the 14th of the month of Sha'bān They call the moon of the 14th night '*Badr* (full moon), so the Prince Muhammad Akbar, Ghāzī, the *Full Moon* of religion and the world, illuminator of both the regions, honoured the house And the *title* of Jalāluddīn and Badruddīn is the same. [Tazkirat-ul-wāqi'at, B M MSS., fol 64b]

[2] I have no authority to cite in support of this statement either from Persian or English authorities. It is my own surmise which may or may not be credited

During his father's lifetime he had been put successively under the following six or seven scholars of varied talents to look after his training:

His tutors and education

(i) Muhammad 'Ali Taghā'i
Mullā 'Isāmuddin Ibrāhim } [1]

(ii) Maulānā Bā Yazid
(iii) Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir } [2]

(iv) Mullā Pir Muhammad
(v) Mir 'Abdul Latif Qazwini } [3]

---

[1] There seems to be a sort of disagreement between Farishta and Abul Fazl, as to the identity of Akbar's first tutor. The former declares that the first was Muhammad 'Ali Taghā'i who was appointed by Humāyūn at Cabul when Akbar was four years old. Cf

شهزاده جلال الدین محمد اکبر چهار ساله بود . جنت آشیانی
شهزاده را باتالیقی محمد علی طغائی درکابل گذاشته -

[Farishta, Vol. I p 448]

Abul Fazl, on the contrary states that Mullā 'Isāmuddin Ibrāhim was the first Preceptor who was appointed when Akbar was 4 years, 4 months, and 4 days old, and had just started on his educational career. Cf

و هفتم شوال این سال که از عمر ابد پیوند حضرت شاهنشاهی چهار
سال و چهار ماه و چهار روز گذشته بود . . . درمکتب نشوی در آوردند وملا
عصام الدین ابراهیم را باین خدمت گرامی شرف اختصاص بخشیدند

[Akbar Nama, Vol. I p 270]

[2] Ibid., pp. 316-317

[3] Cf

جنت آشیانی میر عبداللطیف قزوینی را که بعد از ملا پیر محمد
معلم پادشاه شده بود نزد بیرم خان ترکمان فرستاده -

Farishta, Vol I, p 466]

(*vi*) Bairam Khān.[1]

Mullā 'Isāmuddīn had a passion for pigeon-flying and on persistent complaints being made that the young Prince was also growing increasingly fond of the same, Humāyūn dismissed the Mullā and appointed Maulānā Bā Yazīd as his successor. The young Akbar still remained as averse to book-learning as ever, and showed greater zeal for riding, arrow-shooting, and other sports than the dry schooling of his preceptor. This office was afterwards transferred to others but none benefited the truant boy who successfully resisted all attempts of his tutors to impart him book-learning. In fact he was at this time too young to enter into any real systematic education under these men. Besides, the continually disturbed and eventful reign of his father, accompanied by the frequent compulsory separation of the young Prince, had hardly left a breathing interval for Humāyūn to make any satisfactory arrangement for his son's education. When Humāyūn returned from his exile and settled in India peacefully, Akbar was thirteen years old. It was at this time that Humāyūn was comparatively free to pay attention to this affair when all of a sudden he died, and Akbar, who was then under the wardship of Bairam Khān, found himself engrossed with other serious and more urgent problems

---

[1] Cf.

و علوم علی را اکثر شہزادہ جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر ساختہ

Ibid., p 450. Also, refer Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 366 and Vol. II, p 98.

than his education Soon after his accession he made up for all his past deficiency and slackness shown by him in the acquisition of knowledge by causing books on all subjects to be constantly read to him by experts, and himself listening to their contents carefully and assimilating the same Of such books as were selected for reading he had kept a large variegated stock always ready at hand in his own palace so as to be easily accessible to him at any hour of the day or night. The following extract from Abul Fazl, while giving a detailed list of the books read out to him, throws ample light on his literary taste

[1] و گیتی خداوند از دور آگهی کتاب خانه را بر
چند گونه فرموده ، برخی درون مشکوی مقدس باشد
و لختی بیرون ، و هر کدام را چند لخت گردانند ،
همواره علم علم و نامه نامه را موافق ارزش پایه قرار
داد ، و از دگرگونگی نظم و نثر و هندی و فارسی و
یونانی و کشمیری و عربی بر نیمها یافت ، بدان نمط
بنظر درآوردند ، روز بروز کار دانان آگاه دل آنرا
بموقف عرض همایون رسانند ، و هر کتابی را
از آغاز تا بانجام شنوند ، و هر روز که بدانجا
رسد بشمارهٔ آن هندسه بقلم گوهربار نقش کنند و
بعدد اوراق خواننده را انعام از سرخ و سفید بخشش
شود ، کم کتابی مشهور بود که مذکور محفل

[1] A'in-i-Akbari, Vol I, p 115

همایون نگردد و کدام داستانهای باستانی و
غرائب علوم و نوادر حکم که بنیاد آن پیشوای
دانش منشان انصاف گرای باشد، از مکرر
شنودن ملال نگیرد، و بفراوان خواهش نیوشد،
همواره از اخلاق ناصری، کیمیای سعادت،
قابوس نامه، مکتوبات شرف منیری، گلستان،
حدیقه، مثنوی معنوی، جام جم، بوستان،
شاهنامه، خمسه شیخ نظامی، کلیات خسرو و
مولانا جامی، دیوان خاقانی و انوری، و دیگر
تاریخ نامها در پیشگاه حضور بر خوانند -

And the possessor of the world, owing to his considerable knowledge, has divided his library into several sections. A portion of it is inside the royal palace, and some outside it. And each section was divided into several groups. Always he fixed a grade for every science and every book in proportion to its value. And according to the variety of poetry, and prose, and Persian and Greek, and Kashmiri, and Arabic, books were arranged. In this order they were brought to his Majesty's view. Every day experienced people of apprised hearts bring them to the auspicious presence, and his Majesty listens to each book from the beginning to the end. And every day when a certain portion is covered by the reader, his Majesty puts a

mark on (or according to) the number of the page by his pearl-scattering pen. And in proportion to the number of leaves read, the reader is rewarded with gold and silver in cash. There would be few famous books that are not read in the auspicious assembly. And what ancient tales and wonders of science and boons of philosophy could there be that are not in the recollection of the leader of the wise, prone to justice. He does not feel vexed at hearing books read over again, and listens to them with increased delight They always read in his royal presence from among *Akhlāq-i-Nāsirī*, *Kīmyā-i-Sa'ādat*, *Qābūs Nāma*, *Māktūbāt-i-Sharaf Munīrī*, *Gulistān*, *Hadīqa*, *Masnawī yi Ma'nawī*, *Jām-i-Jam*, *Būstān*, *Shāh Nāma*, *Khamsa-i-Shaikh Nizāmī*, *Kulliyāt-i-Khusrau* and *Jāmī*, *Dīwān-i-Khāqānī*, and *Anwarī*, and sundry other works on history

The rapidly dwindling influence of the Turki dialect at the Mughal court is more clearly noticeable here than in the reign of Humāyūn No Turki work is included in the inventory of books given by Abul Fazl, nor any recorded instance is found of his composing any verse in Turki, or even reciting one from the works of others. Also, no conversation of his in Turki language is reported in any of the available histories of his reign. This is due chiefly to his attention being paid from the very beginning to a

His taste for Persian and Hindi as compared with Turki.

more urgent dialect than Turki, *viz.*, the Hindi language, which was gradually coming to the front, in which his achievement and interest form a contrast with those of his predecessors. He was the first of the Mughal kings whose birth took place in India, and whose life, with the exception of a decade of forced exile in his early childhood, practically lived amongst the Indians.

He was exceedingly intelligent and possessed of a fine taste for history, literature, music, and fine arts

His liking for Persian poetry, and his own compositions.

This he developed greatly in the society of the poets and the literati of his court, which shone with greater radiance than that of the Safawi dynasty of Persia and virtually became a centre of learning and of Persian prose and poetry. He also had a strong memory and committed by heart selected portions of *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, and Jalaluddin Rumi's *Masnawi*,[1] which he greatly appreciated and

---

[1] Cf.

و از کتب نظم مثنوی مولوی و دیوان لسان‌الغیب خود بسعادت
ولی میخوانند و از حقایق ولطایف آن التذاذ می یابند -

[Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 271]

This point is specially noteworthy as showing his tendency to mystic thoughts in the very beginning of his life. His admiration for Hafiz and Jalaluddin Rumi, the leading mystic poets of Persia, to such an extent that he committed their verses to memory, also goes to prove his own acquiescence in their broad views of life which they expressed in their works, *e. g.*,

حافظ گر وصل خواهی صلح کن باخاص و عام
با مسلمان الله الله با برهمن رام رام

often recited to himself in his leisure hours. He also read omens in *Diwān-i-Hāfiz* with reference to important personal and State affairs.[1] A few instances

---

O Hāfiz, if thou desirest union with the beloved make peace with all grade of people.
With a Muslim say Allāh Allāh, and with a Brahman Rām Rām

These broad lessons together with sundry other teachings like

ز زهد خشک ملولم بیار بادهٔ ناب

I am disgusted with dry piety, bring pure wine ' which may be called poetic effusions and are confirmed heresies in their plain meaning, seem to have laid a firm hold on Akbar's thoughts, and may be the basis for his subsequent religious theory which he evolved under the name of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* Its basic principles were identical with the teachings of Hāfiz and the theories expounded by Jalaluddin Rūmī

[1] Cf the following instance of his court nobles taking an augury from *Dīwān-i-Hāfiz* as to the result of the proposed fight with Sikandar

و از کارگاه سپهر آنکه جمعی از ملازمان بساط عزت از دیوان
لسان الغیب کارگل میجستند اتفاقاً این بیت برآمد :

سکندر را نمی‌بخشند آبی بزور و زر میسر نیست این کار

[Akbar Nama, Vol II, p 47]

This is another noteworthy point showing the extent and the nature of influence that Hafiz's poetry exercised at the Mughal court in India Humāyūn was the first Mughal monarch to take to this practice which was continued in his house afterwards No instance of it, however, could be discovered under Bābur

of his grasp and power of composing poetry are quoted below :

> On one occasion when the news of the fight of his governor of Kashmīr with a pretender by name Yādgār Mīrzā, reached his ears, he recited offhand the following verse of his own composition :
>
> [1] کلاهِ خسروی و تاجِ شاهی
> بهر کل کی رسد حاشا و کلا
>
> The cap of royalty and the crown of kingship,
> How can they reach a baldman ! never, never !

The following verse is quoted by Abul Fazl as one of his Majesty's best compositions :

> [2] نیست زنجیرِ جنون در گردنِ مجنونِ زار
> عشق دستِ دوستی در گردنش افگنده است
>
> It s not the chain of madness in the neck of poor Majnūn,
>
> It is the hand of friendship which *love* has cast round his neck.

Again, once in a hunt when his leopard successfully chased a deer, he composed a beautiful verse

---

[1] *Note.*—Mirza Yadgar being bald the word '*kal*' is suggestively used. Also note its clever fusion and drift in '*kulāh*,' and '*kallā*,' amounting to the figures of speech صنعت ایهام and تجنیس

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 271

which is quoted by Mirzā 'Alāuddaula Qazwīnī, and is preserved by a court poet in his quatrain.

[1] مطلعی گفت شاه دین پرور
که جهان حسن آن مقاله گرفت
چیتهٔ پادشاه کاله گرفت
خون او دست راچو لاله گرفت

> The king, protector of religion, composed a *matla'*,
> That the world talked of its beauty,
> "The leopard of the king caught a black buck,
> Its blood covered the plain like tulip."

Once in the year 987 A H, when he happened to be at Fathpūr Sikri, he recited in the mosque on Friday before the congregational assembly the following verses which he had composed for the occasion.

[2] خداوندیکه مارا خسروی داد
دل دانا و بازوی قوی داد

---

[1] Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āsir, B M MSS, Or 1761, fol 60b

[2] 'Alī Qulī, Wālih Daghistānī, Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, B.M MSS., Add 16,729, fol 40b Cf, the statement

گویند در فتحپور روز جمعه غرهٔ جمادی الاول ۹۸۷ھ بر منبر برآمده
این ابیات خود را بجای خطبه برخواند

They say that at Fathpur on Friday, in the month of Jamāda I, A H 987, his Majesty having appeared on the pulpit read out these lines of his own composition in the *Khutba*.

بعدل و داد مارا رهنمون کرد
بجز عدل از خیالِ ما برون کرد
بود وصفش ز عقل و وهم برتر
تعالی شانه الله اکبر

Badāunī, on the other hand, declares that the first part of the *Khutba* was written by Faizī. Cf., the statement

در جمعهٔ غرهٔ جمادی الاول از سال نهصد و هشتاد و هفت در مسجد جامع فتحپور.. این سه بیت شیخ فیضی را بمدد دیگران نیم تمام خوانده از منبر فرود آمدند و امامت را بحافظ محمد امین خطیب حکم فرمودند و ابیات این است -

خداوندیکه مارا خسروی داد دل دانا و بازوی قوی داد
بعدل و داد مارا رهنمون کرد بجز عدل از خیال ما برون کرد
بود وصفش ز حد فهم برتر تعالی شانه الله اکبر

Vol II, p. 268.)

On Friday the month of Jamada, I, A.H 987 in the congregational mosque of Fathpūr his Majesty having half read these three verses of Shaikh Faizī, with the help of other people came down from the pulpit, and ordered Hāfiz Muhammad Amīn, *Khatīb* (the preacher), to act as *Imām* ; and the verses are these

That God Who gave us sovereignty,
Gave us a prudent heart, and a strong arm
He showed us the path to justice and equity,
Else than justice He kept out of our heart ,
His praise is beyond the limit of our understanding.
Sublime is His position, the Greatest Allāh.

رباعي

از بار گنه خمیده پشتم چه کنم

نه راه بمسجد نه بکنشتم چه کنم

نه در صف کافر نه مسلمان جایم

نه لایق دوزخ نه بهشتم چه کنم

That God Who gave us sovereignty,
Gave us a prudent heart and a strong arm ;
He showed us the path to justice and equity,
Aught but justice He kept out of our heart,
His praise is above wisdom and imagination,
Sublime is His position, the greatest Allāh

Quatrain

From the burden of sins my back bent, what should I do ?
Neither there is way for me to mosque, nor to temple what should I do ?
Neither in the row of the infidels nor in that of the faithful there is room for me,
Neither I am fit for Hell, nor for Paradise ; what should I do ?

These lines are extremely simple and have nothing peculiar or of high poetic excellence about them worth mentioning They serve only to show that although he had received no formal education, he did subsequently cultivate a taste enough to appreciate and compose poetry On another occasion

he sent the following *rubā'ī mustazād* of his own composition to 'Abdullāh Khān 'Uzbeg, ruler of Tūrān :

[1] عمرم همه در فراق و هجران بگذشت با درد و الم
این عمر گرانمایه چه ارزان بگذشت در رنج و ستم
عمری که بشد صرف سمرقند و هری با عیش و طرب
افسوس که در آگره ویران بگذشت با غصه و غم

My whole life passed in separation and severance : with pain and grief,
This valuable life, how cheaply it passed : in sorrow and hardship ;
A life which was spent at Samarqand and Hērāt : with pleasure and mirth,
Alas, that in Āgra it bore out in solitude : with grief and sorrow.

His poetical contest with Khān-i-Zamān

His following communication in verse in the metre of his opponent, Khān-i-Zamān,[2] ruler of Jaunpūr, is a substantial evidence of Akbar's developed poetic taste which he had cultivated under the tutorship

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[1] Riyāẓ-ush-Shu'arā, B M MSS., Add 16,729, fol. 40b

[2] His real name was 'Alī Qulī Khān. He was one of the grandees of Humāyūn's court. On Akbar's accession to the throne he was appointed a '*jāgīrdār*' (governor) of Jaunpūr. Shortly after, he declared his independence and claimed equality with Akbar. In the battle fought in 974 A. H., he was found dead. (Refer, Akbar Nāma, Vol II pp. 248, 250, 265; and 289.)

of Bairam Khān and in the society of the great poets of his court. The Khān-i-Zamān on one occasion wrote to Akbar the following:

ای سدِ سکندرِ زمانه درِ تو [1]
یاجوج دود سپاهیِ لشکرِ تو
در دورِ تو آثارِ قیامت پیداست
دجال توئی خواجه امینا خرِ تو

> O thou, the wall of the Alexander of the time is thy door,
> The soldier of thy army is a Gog (devil);
> In thy regime the symptoms of the day of Resurrection are apparent

---

[1] Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, B M MSS, Add 16,729, fol 207a

Note This quatrain with a different rhyme and text has been reproduced by Badāūnī, and attributed to Subūhī, a poet of the court, who is said to have composed it as a satire upon Khwāja Amīnā, better known as Khwāja Jahān, who was Akbar's minister before Abul Fazl Cf

و درین سال خواجه امینا وزیر مستقل ملقب بخواجه جهان در لکهنو
رقعه مراجعت اوده از بقّه داعی حق را اجابت نمود و صبوحی شاعر
در عین کلانی و بزرگی او این رباعی گفته بود که

بر اهل هنر سد سکندر درِ تست — یاجوج که گویند صف لشکر تست
در دور تو آثار قیامت پیداست — دجال توئی خواجه امینا خر تست

[Vol II, p 186]

This statement of Badāūnī is somewhat puzzling as the quatrain in both the instances is clearly addressed to some one whose servant or vassal is Khwāja Amīnā

Thou art *Dajjāl*[1] (a fiend), and Khwāja Aminā
is thy ass.

To this Akbar gave the following suggestive reply in the same rhyme and metre :

[2]ای خانِ زمان که پر بود لشکر تو
شد دولتِ من باعثِ کرّ و فرِ تو
کمتر باشم ز خرِ دجّال امروز
فردا من اگر جدا نسازم سر تو

O Khān-i-Zamān, whose army be full to overflowing,
My sovereignty was the cause of thy pomp and glory ;
I will be less than the ass of *Dajjāl* today,
If tomorrow I do not sever thy head from thy body.

Khān-i-Zamān retorted with the following :

[3]تا هست ابو المعالی در کشور تو
مشکل که بمن جنگ کند لشکر تو
بگذر ز زر و سیم که تا دو کر تو
از سر گذرد برای سیم و زر تو

---

1 Dajjāl is the fabulous impostor who is said to appear at the approach of the day of Resurrection to misguide people, and to oppose Christ who will descend from Heaven to deliver the world from sin.

2 Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, fol 207a.

3 Ibid.

So long as there is any trace of the *Khālsa* army in thy kingdom,
It is unimaginable that thy soldiery should take the field against me ;
Hence tempt with more lavish gifts of money thy mercenary,
So that he may give up his head for thy gold and silver.

To this Akbar gave the following reply .

[1] با آنکه بود خاکِ درم افسرِ تو
امروز بمن فرو نماند سرِ تو
از دولتِ من هست ترا سیم و زری
وز زور زر است قدرتِ لشکرِ تو

In spite of the fact that the dust of my door is thy crown,
Today thy head does not stoop to me ,
From my riches (power) thou hast gold and silver,
And from the strength of that gold is the power of thy army

Khān-i-Zamān yielding at last sent the following quatrain

[2] ای شاهِ زمان منم کمین نوکر تو
ور ترس نمی توانم آمد برِ تو
ار گور تو قصدِ کشتنِ من داری
نزدیک چسان توانم آمد برِ تو

---

1 Ibid
2 Ibid

O king of the world I am thy humblest slave,
And it is through fear that I dare not come near thee ;
Even from a distance thou hast the intention of killing me,
How then can I come near thee ?

Akbar's answer was the following :

گفتی تو چو راستی خدا یاور تو[1]
صد رحمت حق بر پدر و مادر تو
تغییر مده تو سکه و خطبهٔ من
تا من نکنم آرزوی کشور تو

Since thou hast uttered the truth God be thy Helper,
A hundred blessings of His be poured on thy father and mother ;
Do not replace my coin and '*khutba*' by yours,
So that I may not long for thy territory.

Besides the above verses there are some others preserved in his name in the contemporary and later works.[2]

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[1] Ibid

[2] Cf : the following

من قهوه نمی خورم می آرید   من چنگ نمی زنم نی آرید

شبنم مگو که بر ورق گل مانده است   گل قطرها ز دیدهٔ بلبل افتاده است

رباعی

در شیشه بکوی می فروشان   پیمانهٔ می بزر خریدم
اکنون ز خمار سر گرانم   زر دادم و درد سر خریدم

[Ibid., fol. 40b, also Cf Bayaz-i-Mirza Asad Beg Turkman, fol. 128a.]

He also recited verses from standard poets on occasions to suit his purpose A few instances are quoted as follows At the time of vesting power in the hands of Bairam Khān, he recited the following hemistich

His taste for Persian poets.

دوست گر دوست بود هر دو جهان دشمن باش[1]

If the friend remains a friend, let both the worlds be enemies.

Another instance is as follows

و از عجائب سوانح آن بود که چند[2]
بهکری یکی از ملازمان درگاه والا تیر در کمان
نهاده بر کس کرده بود و آنکس در کمین فرصت
بود در شکار دُد معروض داشت سطوت جلال
پادشاهی اقتضای سیاست فرمود و از کمال غضب
شمشیر خاصه را بقلیج خان دادند کی ادب
خود سر بے اعتدال را از بار گردن نجات
دهد مشارُ الیه دو مرتبه آن الماس پاره را بر او
انداخت و بر موی آزرده نشد و بر زبان
قدر بیان گذشت

اگر تیغ عالم بجنبد ز جای
نبُرّد رگی تا نخواهد خدای

[1] Farishta, Vol I, p 462

[2] Akbar Nama, Vol II, p 272.

And from among the curious incidents was that Hamid Bhakkari had shot an arrow from his bow at one of his Majesty's servants ; and this person having been on the lookout for an opportunity made his complaint to his Majesty on the hunting-ground. The kingly wrath was inclined to punish the culprit, and his Majesty in extreme anger gave his own sword to Qulij Khān in order that he might relieve this immoderate turbulent wretch from the burden of his neck. The said Qulij Khān twice struck that *diamond-piece* on the culprit and not even as much as the point of a hair was injured And on the destiny-relating tongue passed

If the sword of the whole world moves from its place,
It will not cut a vein until God desires.

Another instance of the same is as follows :

[1]روزے قسم حاں کاردانی حوش گدارس
مسعود برخی دگر گوں مگفتند د.بن مال ار
رباعی سخن رب او اراں هموسمدد ندنس
[1]وسخت - بر زبان گوهر بار رفت

- گر رمس را نکو سعی
که با آسمان سر برداختی

---

[1] A'in-i-Akbari, Vol II, p 238

One day Qulij Khān was dilating on his skill; others were gainsaying it. In the meantime talk turned on Mathematics. Qulij Khān dropping the former topic clung to this one On the pearl-scattering tongue went:

> Well hast thou performed the affair of the world!
> That thou art engaged with the sky as well.

His literary and poetic wit

Like his father he had a critical insight, and made certain agreeable suggestions to the poets and the literati of his court.

[1] روزی قلیج خان دفتری در پیشگاه حضور آورد و عرض داشت نام این خلاصة الملک نهاده ام امید که بپذیرائی یابد فرمودند که این نام سزاوار صوبه و سرکار است نه قصبه - همان بهتر که جمعة الملک بر گویند

One day Qulij Khān brought a record in the presence of his Majesty, and said, "I have named it '*Khulāsat-ul-mulk*' (the essence of the country). I hope that it will receive acceptance." His Majesty rejoined, "This name is fit for a province, or a district, or

[1] Ibid

else a town. Better is that it might be named '*Haqiqat-ul-Mulk*' " (the reality or the truth of the country).

He also made suggestive remarks on the verses of Persian poets Some instances are quoted below

[1] روزی رباعیِ ملا طالب صفاهانی که در مرثیهٔ حکیم ابوالفتح و بسببِ آمدنِ حکیم همام گفته بود بعرضِ همایون رسید -

مهرِ دو برادرم که دمساز آمد
او شد بسفر وین ز سفر باز آمد
او رفت بدنبالهٔ او عمر برفت
وین آمد و عمرِ رفته‌ام باز آمد

فرمودند لفظ دنباله گرانی میکند اگر چنین بخوانند بهتر باشد : او رفت و ز رفتنش مرا عمر برفت

One day Mullā Tālib Isfahānī's quatrain, which he had composed as an elegy on Hakīm Abul Fath, as also a welcome to Hakīm Humām, was read before his Majesty

The love of the two brothers came agreeable to my breath,
That one has gone on his journey, and the other has come from his journey;
That one went and behind him went life,
This one came and my departed life came back

---

[1] Ibid

His Majesty remarked that the word '*dunbāla*' (دنباله) sounds heavy. If it be read thus it might be better :

> That one went, and by his departure my
> life departed.

[1] روزي بزم آگهي آراسته بود يكي از سرايندگان
همايون محفل اين بيت خواند ·

مسيحا يار و خضرش رهنما و همعنان يوسف
فغاني آفتابِ من بدين اعزاز مي آيد

بر زبانِ گوهربار رفت اگر بجاي "آفتابِ من"
"شهسوارِ من" برخوانند سزاوار باشد -

One day an assembly of knowledge was in progress. One of the poets of the august assembly read out the following verse :

> Messiah his comrade, Khizr his guide, and
> Joseph holding the rein of his steed,
> Fughāni, my sun, comes attended with
> such honour.

On the pearl-scattering tongue went, "If in place of '*my sun*' you read '*my champion rider*,' it would be appropriate."

Ibid

Note – Fughāni was a famous poet who flourished in Khurāsān at the court of Sultān Ya'qūb Hasan, in the first quarter of the tenth century A H He was commonly known as Bābā Fughāni and was a contemporary of Babar

His taste for *Bhākā*, or soft Hindī, as modified by Persian tone and vocabulary, which is but another name for Urdū, is more marked than that of any of his predecessors. While no instance could be discovered of either Bābur's or Humāyūn's Hindī speech, except a Turkī-Urdū verse (already quoted under Bābur) Akbar's Hindī conversation and verses have been referred to by contemporary authors.

His contribution to Bhākā or soft Hindī, which is Urdū

One instance of the former is partially preserved as follows

[1] چنین اُفتاد که همین سال درمیان خان اتکه
و ادهم‌خان نزاعے برخاست ' روزی خان را
بحضور در تیغ شمشیر کشید و شاه والا برآشفته
بزبان هندی فرمودند که ای ملچهه گاڑدی تو
کیوں اتکه مارا یعنی اُو را از جان بیجان کردی -

And it so happened that in this very year, a quarrel arose between Khān i Atka and Adham Khān. One day he put the Khān to the sword in the royal presence. His Majesty frowned and said in Hindī tongue, "O dirty idiot, why didst thou kill my Atka ?" *i.e.*, rendered him from life to lifeless.

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[1] Tārīkh-i-Humāyūnī, MSS., dated, Agra, 1069 A.H., Jamāda II, fol. 118a (copyist 'Imād Mutasaddī [illegible])

Note.—It is unfortunate that Abul Fazl has omitted to report the original speech, and has given the translation only. Cf.

و بزبان هندی گفته که ای بیچا لنڈه چرا اتکه مارا کشتی -

[Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 176]

His predilection for Hindi was but natural in his close contact with the Hindūs. He acquired a decent knowledge of Hindi, and listened to Hindi speeches and songs with unabated interest, and himself composed verses in the same. Some instances are as follows :

[1] نردیكِ مندهاكر كه دهي است درمیانِ آگره
و فتحپور عبورِ اشرف اتفاق اُفتاد و جمعي از نغمه
پردازانِ هندي اشعارِ دلفریب را در مفاخر و مناقبِ
خواجه بزرگ خواجه معین الدین قدس سره
العزیز كه در حضرتِ اجمیر آسوده اند. .. خواندن
گرفتند آنحضرت را كه جوياى حق و حقیقت اند
سوقِ زیارتِ مرقدِ خواجه در باطنِ مقدس
جوش زد -

Near Mandhākur which is a village situated midway between the roads to Ajmēr and Fathpūr, his Majesty happened to pass. And a number from among the singers of Hindi songs began to sing elegant verses in glory and praise of the great Khwāja Mu'inuddin, may God purify his soul, who rests in Ajmēr An ardent desire arose in the pure heart of his Majesty, who is a seeker after truth and reality, to visit the tomb of the Khwāja

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[1] Ibid., p 154

Once he composed a Hindi-Persian verse which is preserved in a court poet's quatrain (already noticed), and is reproduced here for ready reference :

چیتهٔ پادشاه کاله گرفت [1]

خونِ او دشت را چو لاله گرفت

The leopard of the king caught a black buck,
Its blood took hold of the plain like tulip.

His predilection for Hindi

He was fond of giving Hindi names to his pet animals like elephants, horses, and dogs, in preference to Persian names :

ابوالفضل از زبانِ گوهر نثارِ آنحضرت شنیده [2]
که میفرمودند آن فیلِ صحرائي نبودار حکام آن
ممالک سرکشیده برآمده بود - حضرت شاهنشاهي
نام آنرا کهیری سنگهه نهادند -

Abul Fazl heard it from his Majesty's pearl-scattering tongue that he said, "That

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[1] *Note*—The names of the animals '*chita*' and '*kāla*' are pure Hindi words used in a Persian composition. Their Persian equivalents are '*yūz*' and '*āhu*'. Still more significant is the '*izāfat*' (the sign of possessive), which is placed over the Hindi word '*chita*' to connect it with the Persian word *Pādishāh*. Such relation with a foreign word is not permissible according to the rules of Persian grammar.

[2] Ibid., p 233

was not a wild elephant. It had come away turning its head against the rulers of those countries." His Majesty named it *Kheri Singh*.

Another elephant was named *Bhairūn* :

[1] حکمِ مقدس نفاذ پیوست که فیل مست جنگی
از فیلانِ خاصه شریفه آورده بآں جنگ اندازند
... بهیرون نام فیلی آورده بجنگ انداختند -

His Majesty's order was issued that they should bring a ferocious fighting elephant from amongst the royal elephants, and make it fight with that They brought an elephant named Bhairūn, and let it loose for fight with it.

Once two elephants waited in his presence. One bore a Persian name and the other a Hindi. He preferred to ride on the latter :

[2] از فیلانِ نامی خدابخش و بالسندر.....
در رکابِ دولت دوشان و خروشان بودند
آنحضرت بر فیل دلسندر نام سوار شده

From among the famous elephants, Khuda Bakhsh and Bāl Sundar were attending the royal stirrup. His Majesty rode on the elephant named Bāl Sundar.

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[1] Ibid., p. 284
[2] Ibid., pp. 291 and 292

Again he had a pet dog to which he had given a Hindī name:

[1] و از غرائب امور قصهٔ سگ پادشاهی است
و آں مادہ سگی بود مهوه نام

> And from among the curious affairs is the story of the king's dog. And it was a female dog by name '*Mahwa.*'

He also gave a Hindī-Persian name "*Shaikhū-jiyō*" to Jahāngīr, and another pure Hindī "*Pahārī-rāja*" to Murād Some of his Hindī songs that are unrecorded and handed down to us by tradition only, survive to this day, and are sung at Delhi and its environs in the houses of respectable men on occasions of marriage. The story of their origin is that when Akbar celebrated the marriage of his son Jahāngīr with the daughter of Rāja Bhagwant Dās and shouldered the bridal palanquin to the royal palace, the Rāja sang the following:

[2] ہماری بنی ہمارے محلوں کی چیری
ہم بابل گلام رے

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[1] Ibid., p. 202.

[2] '*Mahal*' generally signifies a palace or a mansion, here it stands for female quarters. It was also used chiefly in the Mughal period, as a title for the Queen, or the wives of the nobles, and sometimes to distinguish the Queen's mansion from the rest. Its plural '*mahlāt*' (correct *mahallāt*) was definitely used for the king's wives.

Our daughter is the slave girl of your royal *harem*,
We are all servitors and slaves.

The reply given by Akbar was this ·

تمہاری بیٹی ہمارے محلوں کی رانی
تم صاحب سردار رے

Your daughter is the queen of our palaces,
You are all potentates and chiefs.

Of the songs thus surviving there is one, sung from the mouth of the royal bride, which also portrays some essentials of marriage :

پربت بانس کٹا مورے بابل
بی کا منڈوا چھوائو رے
اوپر اوپر کلس براجے
دیکھیں راجہ رائو رے

O papa, get the bamboos over the mountain hewn,
Erect a thatched stall with reed ,
A crest should adorn it,
All the Rājas and potentates witness it.

From this it might be seen what a natural and graceful turn the Hindi-Persian mixture was taking in the popular taste. The songs of Akbar and the Rāja are but simple and pure Urdū, which is a result of the long-established cross-breeding of

Persian with Hindī. Abul Fazl's remark about Akbar's taste for Hindī is as follows

[1]و طبعِ الهام پذیرِ آنحضرت بگفتنِ نظمِ هندی و
فارسی بغایت موافق افتاده

> And his Majesty's disposition, which is susceptible to revelation, is extremely suited to composing Hindī and Persian poetry.

Besides this, the great impetus to public taste for Hindī in his reign was given by his unprecedented patronage to Hindī lore, which led so much fresh stock of Sanskrit and Hindī literature to be transferred into Persian. Some notable productions are the following:

Unprecedented patronage to Hindī lore

(i) *Razm Nāma* (or battle-book), translation of the Mahābhāratta, rendered by the joint efforts of Badāūnī, Naqīb Khān, Faizī, Mullā Shīrī, Hājī Sultān, and others

(ii) *'Ayār Dānish* (Touch-stone of knowledge), translated from Sanskrit by Abul Fazl.

(iii) *Līlāwatī* (a treatise on Algebra and Geometry), translated from Sanskrit by Faizī.

(iv) *Rāmāyan* (the famous poem by Vālmīki), translated by Badāūnī, Naqīb Khān, and Hājī Sultān.

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[1] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 270

(*v*) *Sanghasan Battisi* (The thirty-two tales of the throne), rendered from Hindi by Badāūnī and Khwāja Husain Mervi.

(*vi*) *Athervan Veda* (a religious book of the Hindūs), translated from Sanskrit by Badāūnī, and Mullā Ibrāhīm.

(*vii*) *Nal-Daman*, a masnawi by Faizī, founded on the story of Rāja Nal and Damayānti in the Mahābhāratta.

(*viii*) *Tārīkh-i-Krishn Ji*, translated from Sanskrit by a joint committee of scholars.

(*ix*) *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, translated from Hindi, by Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād.

(*x*) *Bhagwat Gītā*, translation of a certain section of the Mahābhāratta, not undertaken before, by Abul Fazl.

(*xi*) *Jōg Vāshishtha*, a moral and religious dialogue between the two Rishis : Vāshishtha and Rāmchandra, translated by the joint efforts of Naqīb Khān, Mullā Shāh and Abul Fazl.

(*xii*) *Kishan Joshī*, translated by Abul Fazl

(*xiii*) *Harivamsa*, translated by Mullā Shīrī

(*xiv*) *Mahēsh Mahānad*, translated by Abul Fazl.

This shows at a glance what different groups of scholars, including religious and pious Muslims, were employed in the work of translations Thus the deep hold that Sanskrit and Hindi lore had

taken on the Muslim taste, and the genuine and wide interest aroused for the study of these languages under the patronage of Akbar, is without a parallel in the history of the Mughal rule in India.

CHAPTER II

The reign of Akbar occupies a long roll of scholars, including poets, historians, calligraphists, philosophers, theologians and those who combined literary merit with administrative capabilities Besides these, there were at the court, physicians, painters, musicians, and artists of diverse skill and accomplishments.

A general list of the Poets and Scholars of his reign

The following is a selected list of scholars, of whom only a few marked with an asterisk* are described in these pages. For information on others, refer *Badāūni*, Vol. III; *Ā'īn-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 232—264; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 389—406; *Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āsir*, account of Akbar, and *Ma'āsir-ul-'Umarā*.

A Poets — (*i*) First grade poets .

*Faizī , *Nazīrī ; *'Urfī , Malik Qumī *Zuhūrī; Ghizālī , Sūr Dās , *Tulsi Dās , and *'Abdur-rahīm "Khān-i-Khānān."

(*ii*) Second-grade poets

Hayātī Gīlānī , Huznī Isfahānī; Mīr 'Abdul Hai Mashhadi , Sanā'ī Mashhadī . Nishānī , Shakibī Isfahānī , Bairam Khān , Māhvī ; Mailī Hirawī ; Rafī'ī Kāshī , Sairafī Kashmīrī , Ghairatī Shirāzī , Qarārī Gīlānī ;

Sanjar Kāshī ; Bābā Tālib Isfahānī ; Qāsim Arsalān Mashhadi and Kēsar Dās.

B Historians

*Abul Fazl ; Badāūnī ; Farishta ; Nizāmuddin Ahmad ; Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Haqqī Dehlevī, Nūrul Haq ; Amīn Ahmad Rāzī.

C Philosophers, Grammarians, and Traditionalists

Maulānā 'Abdullāh Sultānpūrī, "*Makhdūm-ul-Mulk.*"

Miyān Hātim Sanbhalī.

Shaikh Jalāluddīn Thānesarī.

Shaikh Bhīkan.

Shaikh Ilāh Diya Khairābādī.

Miyān Wajīhuddīn Ahmadābādī

Shaikh Mubārak Nāgorī [a teacher of Badāūnī].

Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī of Delhī.

Shaikh 'Abdunnabī, *Sadr-us-Sudūr*, "*Fakhr-uz-Zamānī.*"

Shaikh Ahmadī Fayyāz Ambahtiwāl.

Qāzī Sadruddīn Jālandarī.

Miyān Ilāh Dād Lakhnawī.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Lūdhiyānawī

Maulānā Jamāl Lahaurī.

Shaikh Sa'duddaula—the grammarian

Maulānā Ilāh Dād Sultānpūrī

Shaikh Abul Fath Thānesarī [a teacher of Badāūnī].

Qāzī Mubārak Gūpāmawī.

Shaikh Husain 'Alī Mūsalī [a teacher of Abul Fazl and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad]

Qāzī Nūrullāh Shūstarī.

Malik Mahmūd Piyārū.
Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī.
Maulānā Mīrzā Samarqandī [a teacher of Badāūnī].
Maulānā Mīr Kalān.
Mīr Fathullāh Shīrāzī.
Qāzī Jalāluddīn Multānī, "*Qāzī-ul-Quzāt.*"
Sadr Jahān, Grand Mufti of Hindūstān.
Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī.

D. Physicians

Hakīm Bīnā
Hakīm 'Alī.
Hakīm-ul-Mulk Gīlānī.
Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī
Hakīm Misrī.
Hakīm Abul Fath Gīlānī.
Hakīm Humām.*
Hakīm Masīh-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī.
Hakīm Fathullāh Shīrāzī.
Hakīm Ahmad Tattavī

E Musicians

Mirza Tān Sēn.[1]
Rām Dās Kalāwant.
Subhān Khān.
Bāz Bahādur.

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[1] He was given the title of "*Mīrzā*" on his embracing Islām, and was buried in the Muslim Cemetery at Gwaliar, in 997 A. H He was at first in the service of Raja of Rēwah, but subsequently went over to Āgra at the invitation of Akbar Abul Fazl says that a musician like Tān Sēn has not appeared for the last thousand years. This view is supported by other chroniclers also [*vide* Jahāngīr's estimate of Tān Sēn in *Tusuk-i-Jahāngīrī*].

Miyān Lal Kalāwant.
Bābā Hardās.

F
Painters and Calligraphists[1]

Khwāja 'Abdussamad, *Shīrīn-qalām**; Nishānī*, Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf*, Daswant Rām*, Muhammad Husain Kashmīrī, *Zarrīn-qalam*, Mīr 'Abdullāh Wasfī, *Haft-qalam*; Miyān Mauzūn, Ashraf Khān Hari Bans, Bisāwan, Miyān Lāl (noticed under Musicians)

G
Distinguished personages of the Court known as the *Naurątan* (or the nine gems of the Court of Akbar)

Faizī, Abul Fazl, Rāja Birbal, Rāja Todar Mal, Mullā Du Piyāza, Tān Sēn, Hakīm Humām, Rāja Mān Singh, Abdur rahim, *Khān-i-Khānān*

A
Faizī second great poet after Amīr Khusrau

He was the son of Shaikh Mubārak Nāgōrī and elder brother of Abul Fazl He occupies the first rank among the poets of the court of Akbar, and is considered to be one of the greatest Persian Arabic, and Sanskrit scholars of the age The considered opinion about him is that after Khusrau no other poet has since appeared who could compete with him in the mastery of diction, poetic excellence, and sublimity of thought The great poet Sa'ib, of

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[1] There is a separate treatise giving notices of expert calligraphists under Akbar, by an author who styles himself as Khalīfa Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad *Haft qalam* Akbar shāhi The calligraphists are classed according to their rank in the particular branches in which they excelled (*vide* Or 1861 B M MSS foll 45 82)

the court of Shāh Jahān (afterwards *Malik ush Shu'ara* of Shāh 'Abbās II, calls him *Shīrīn-kalām* (of sweet speech) and pays him a glowing tribute in the following verse.

Sā'ib's glowing tribute

این آن غزل که فیضی شیرین کلام گفت

در دیده ام خلیده و در دل نشسته

This is that ode which Faizī of sweet discourse composed,

It charmed my eye, and stole into my heart.

His other colleagues at the Persian Court equally paid him compliments and recognised his worth and genius as a first-rate poet of Persian language.[1] He was a man of great learning,

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[1] Cf the verses of Alī Naqī Kamra'ī, 'the court-poet of Shāh 'Abbās I, and the chief panegyrist of his Vazīr, "*I'timād-ud-Daula*"—recognising Faizī's greatness as a poet, and comparing him with Zahīr and Khāqānī, the two renowned poets of Persia The first and the third lines are simply an acknowledgment of Faizī's immense superiority over himself, hailing him as his master and admitting himself as his disciple, with a confession that his poetry has had a remodelling effect upon his own composition

مرا افکند در نظم امروز پرتوی فیضی

ابوالفیض آن گزین اکبر و شیخ کبیر من

ظهیر کشورهٔ پیشینیان حقّا ظهیر الدین

امیر زبدهٔ اهل زمان حقّا امیر من

اگر هستم مجیر اندر سخن او هست خاقانی

و گر من مستجیرم آستان او مجیر من

کم ما او رسد در شاعری دعوای هم چشمی

که در این خانقاهم من مرید و اوست پیر من

and his poetic qualification was only a secondary virtue. As an Arabic scholar and thinker he was one of the leading men of the age. Badāūnī, who was his father's pupil, pays him a high tribute of praise so far as his erudition is concerned, but condemns him outright for his heretical beliefs. His commentary "*Sawāṭı'-ul-Ilhām*" on the chapters of the Qur'ān, is a marvellous composition, as showing his wonderful command and power to write out page after page without admitting a single letter with a dot As a poet of Persian language, which forms the present consideration, he was the most noted among his colleagues, and was appointed *Malık-ush-Shu'arā*[1] (king of poets) on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of Akbar's coronation in the year 996 A H. The incident is gracefully described by the poet himself in the following verse of an ode preserved in his *Dīwān* .

آں روز کہ فیضِ عام کردند
ما را ملک الکلام کردند

Also Cf , another poet of P‹ rsıa, Rasmı Qalandar, writing in a *qasīda* to Khān-ı-khānān that Faizı has captured the seven climes like Khusrau

زفیضِ علمِ تو نظمی گرفته چون خسرو
به تیغ هندی اقلیمِ سبعه را یکسر

[1] The rank of *Malık ush Shu'arā* (poet-laureate) under the Mughal rule in India was established oy Akbar, and Ghizālī Mashhadı was first appointed to it After his death, it devolved on Faizī who held it till the beginning of 1004 A H , when he died

That day when they showered gifts on one and all,
They made me the king of poets.

Badāūnī's view of his literary and poetic attainments

Badāūnī's remark about his literary and poetic attainments is as follows .

و در فنون جزئیه از شعر و معما و عروض[1]
و قافیه و تاریخ و لغت و طب و انشا عدیل
در روزگار نداشت -

In the sub-branches of poetry, enigma, metre, rhyme, history, orthography, medicine, and epistolary, he had no equal in the age.

He was the author of 101 works, according to the estimate of Badāūnī and Bakhtāwar Khān (author of *Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam*) Some of his poetical works are as follows

His great *Masnavi*, *Nal Daman*, Badāūnī's estimate of its worth

(i) *NalDaman* It is a love story of Rāja Nal and Damayānti written at Akbar's request in the space of five months, in the 39th year of his reign (A H 1003[2]), and on completion presented to him, who appreciated it much and ordered its being profusely illustrated with pictures and read before him daily It contains 4,000

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol III, p 299

[2] Cf, his verses

سی و نهم از جلوس شاهی — تاریخ مقدس الهی
چون سال عرب شمار کردم — الف و سه الف نگار کردم

verses according to the author's own calculation[1] and is considered by competent judges as one of the best works ever written in Persian verse. It combines the lofty diction of Anwarī, and graceful ease of Hāfiz with the deep pathos of Nizāmī. It begins thus

ای در تگ و پوی تو در آغاز
عنقای نظر بلند پرواز

O Thou, in Thy search, still is in the beginning,
The phoenix of sight, which soars high

Even Badāūnī who seems, on religious grounds too much prejudiced against him,[2] pays him the warmest tribute on its production.

والحق مثنوی ست که درین سه صد سال[3]
مثل آن بعد از امیر خسرو شاید در هند کسے
دیگر گفته باشد -

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[1] Cf

این چار هزار گوهر ناب   کش سفته ام با تشین آب

[2] Cf

. مدت چهل سال درست شعر میگفت اما همه نا درست استخوان
بندی او خوب اما بے مغز معانی شعر او سراپا بے مزه چاشنی او در وادی
شطحیات و شطحیات و کفریات معروف

[Ibid., p 301.]
Note the inconsistency in his argument in the first sentence and compare this statement with his previous pronouncement (quoted on p 42, supra) in which he declares that Faizī as a poet was unrivalled in the age judged from all canons of criticism

[3] Badāūnī, Vol II p 396

And to speak the truth, it is a *masnawī* the like of which has perhaps not been written in India within the last three centuries after Amīr Khusrau.

This is his last work which was finished before his death, and formed the third of the series of *Panj Ganj* (the five treasures), which he had contemplated to write in imitation of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* but did not survive to carry it out. In the finishing lines he changed his *nom de guerre* from '*Faizī*, to *Fayyāzī*.'[1] It was composed to match with Nizāmī's *Lailā Majnūn*

His other works.

(ii) *Makhzan-ul-Adwār* (the Centre of Circles) · a *Masnawī* written after the style of Nizāmī's *Makhzan-ul-Asrār*, and begins thus :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
گنجِ ازل را ست طلسمِ قدیم

' In the name of the Merciful and the Compassionate "

Is an ancient *talisman* for the Treasure of Eternity

It was the first of the series of *Panj Ganj*, and

---

[1] Cf.

زین پیش که سکه ام سخن بود   فیضی رقم نگین من بود
اکنون که شدم بعشق مرتاض   فیاضیم از محیط فیاض

was undertaken and finished in his fortieth year as stated by him in the following lines .

[1] این مئے بنفس که کشیدم بدور
دورِ نخستین بود از پنج دور
شوق کزین نامه پر و بال داشت
عقل کمالِ چهلم سال داشت

This pure wine which I drank forthwith,
Is the first circle from the five circles ,
My fond desire has taken wings from this narration.
My wisdom had the perfection of the fortieth year.

(iii) *Bilqīs-wa-Salmān* . the second of the series undertaken shortly after his first composition as a counter-reply to *Shīrīn-wa-Khusrau*.

(iv) *Tabāshīr-us-Subh* (the sugar or the dawn of morning is a collection of poems consisting chiefly of *ghazal* and *qit'a* with a few *rubā'iyāt* at the end. In the preface he relates how he was called to the court by Akbar and appointed as tutor to Jahāngīr, and subsequently received the rank of *Amīr* and the title of "*Malik-ush-Shu'arā*" (the king of poets).

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[1] Add 23,981, B.M MSS., fol. 272a.

He had a graceful style in prose also. The letter which he wrote to Akbar interceding for Badāūnī may serve as a good specimen of his prose-writing. It is easy in style and impressive in tone, and is not encumbered with the long train of titles, rythmic diction, and cut and dry phraseology according to the practice of the age. It runs thus .—

His style of prose

[1]عالم پناها - درین ولا دو خویش ملا
عبدالقادر از بداؤن مضطرب گریان و بریان
رسیدند و نمودند که ملا عبدالقادر چند گاه بیمار
بوده و از موعدی که بدرگاه داشته متخلف شده
و اورا کسانِ پادشاهی بسبب تمام برده اند تا
عاقبت کلکتا انجامد و گفتند که امداد بیماری
او بعرض اشرف نرسیده - شکسته نوازا ' ملا
عبدالقادر اهلیت تمام دارد و علوم رسمی آنچه
ملایانِ هندوستان میخوانند خوانده پیش
خدمت ابوی کسب فضیلت کرده و قریب بسی و هفت
سال میشود که بنده او را میدانم و با فضیلتِ
علمی طبع نظم و سلیقه انشای عربی و فارسی
و چیزی از نجوم هندی و حساب یاد داشت
در همه وادی و وقوف در نغمه ولایت و هندی
و خبری از شطرنج صغیر و کبیر دارد و مشق

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol III, p 303

بمن بقدرے کرده باوجود بهره‌مند بودن ازین
همه فضائل به بے طمعي و قناعت و کم
برده بودن و راستي و درستي و ادب
و نامرادی و شکستگي و گرسنگي و بے نعمتي
و ترك اکثر رسوم تعلقات و درستي اخلاص
و عقیدت بدرگاه بادشاهي موصوفست وقتیکه
لشکر بر سرِ کوبهلمیر تعین میشد او التماس
نموده دامدن جانسپاری رفت وآنجا بردے کرد
و زخمي هم شد و بعرض رسیده انعام یافت اول
مرتبه او را جلال خان قورچي بدرگاه آورده بعرض
رسانیده بود که من امامے برای حضرت پیدا
کرده ام که حضرت را خوش خواهد آمد و میر
فتح‌الله هم اندکے از احوال او بعرض
اقدس رسانیده بودند و خدمت اخوی بر حال
او مطلعند اما مشهور است - ع

خوے طالع زحروار هنر به

چوں درگاه راستان است درینوقت که
بهطلقتي زور آورده بنده خود را حاضر بابه سربر
والا ندانسته احوال او بعرض رسانید اگر درین
وقت بعرض نمي رسانید بوجے از ناراستي و

بےحقیقي بود حق سبحانه بندهای درگاه را درسادهٔ
فلك پايهٔ حضرت بادشاه بر راه راسيي و حق
گذاری و حقيقت شناسي قدم ثابت کرامت
فرمايد وآں حضرت را برکل عالم و عالمياں سايه
گستر و شکسته‌برور و عطاباش و خطاپوش بهزاران
هزار دولت و اقبال و عظمت و جلال دبرگاه دار اد بعرب
باكلِ درگاهِ الهي و روشن دلانِ سحر خيز صبح
گاهي ، آمين ، آمين -

Besides his poetical attainments he was well-versed in Unānī medicine, and used to give lectures on the *Al-Qānūn* of Avicenna for which he had earned a name He also practised as a physician, and had a charitable disposition, and treated the poor free of charge. The Bayāz of Mirzā Asad Bēg mentions him as a *Hakīm*, and quotes his verses under *Hakīm Faizī*

His merit and usefulness as a physician

His whole life was that of a student, and till late hours of the night he was occupied in reading and writing books. His library which on his death in 1004 A H , passed to Akbar consisted of 4,600 precious manuscripts on different subjects including philosophy, music, astronomy, mathematics, poetry, medicine, history, and religious literature.

His library

Some specimens of his verses

Some of his beautiful verses are reproduced as follows .

[1] بگذر از عشق که این کار بسامان نرسد

آسمان تابع و معشوق بفرمان نرسد

Leave love, for this affair will not come to anything,

The sky will not submit and the beloved will not be obedient to thy commands.

[2] بیا که روی بمحراب گاهِ نور نهیم

بنای کعبهٔ دیگر ز سنگِ طور نهیم

حطیمِ کعبه شکست و اساسِ قبله بریخت

نشاره طرحِ یکی قصرِ بی‌قصور نهیم

Come, so that we may turn our faces towards the arch of light,

We lay the foundation of a new Ka'ba with the stone from Mt. Sinā'i ;

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[1] Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, Vol I p 229

[2] Ibid

The four-walls of the *Ka'ba* broke, and the foundation of the *Qibla* gave way,
Anew we lay the foundation of a faultless structure.

[1] فیضی کفم تهی و رهِ عاشقی به پیش
دیوانِ خود مگر بدو عالم گرو کنم

O Faizi, my hand is empty, and the path of *love* lies before me,
Ought I mortgage my poetic collection for the two worlds !

[2] آن نیست که من همعنان را بگذارم
با آبله پایان چکنم قافله سر است

It is not that I leave my comrades,
What to do with those whose feet are blister-ed, the caravan is apace.

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[1] Ibid , p. 240

[2] ibid,

Note —I insert below Vincent Smith's judgment on Faizi and in fact all Persian and Indian poets that had assembled at the court of Akbar

"Abul Fazl gives many extracts from the writings of the select 59, which I have read in their English dress, without finding a single sentiment worth quoting, although the extracts include passages from the works of his brother Faizi, the king of poets, which Abul Fazl considers to enshrine *gems of thought*' Most of the

[1] ای عشق رخصت است که از دوش آسمان
بر دوش خود نهم علم کبریای تو

O love, permit me that from the shoulder of the sky,

---

authors prostitute the word *love* to the service of unholy passions, and Faizī sins in that way like others" [Akbar, the Great Mogul, pp 415 - 6]

Vincent Smith was not a Persian scholar and so this remark cannot be considered in any way a sound judgment. It is vitiated by the writer's confession that he has only read the poetry in English translation—surely an unfair test Even Prof Browne shrinks from endorsing its harshness, while Blochmann held the opposite view Panegyric, it must be admitted, bulks too large in the Persian poetry of India but that fact should not be allowed to obscure the existence of poetry of a really high standard Most Persian students tend to stop at Jāmī, as Latin scholars tend to regard Cicero, as the final word in Latin style The result is an *a priori* prejudice against all later poetry or writing Prof Browne in the last volume of his history of Persian Literature has dispelled that error as regards Persia, and I have attempted to do the same for India by quoting some of the best passages to be found leaving judgment to the reader Some of Faizī's verses on *love* appear in this page and the following They show that far from defiling the word *love* he has used it everywhere in a sublime sense (*Vide* Prof Browne's view of Vincent Smith's remark, under "Vincent Smith's harsh judgment" Persian Literature in Modern Times, p 249)

Also Cf Blochmann s view

"After Amīr Khusrau of Delhi Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizi" [*A'in-i-Akbari*, English Translation, Vol I p. xvi.]

1 Ibid

I may place upon my own, the banner of thy greatness.

فیضی من آن بلند نگاهم که روزگار[1]
پیوسته یافت ساعدِ فکرم بساقِ عرش
آویختند اگر ز درِ کعبه نظمِ غیر
آویختم حدیثِ خود از بساقِ عرش

Faizi, I am of such lofty vision that *Time*
Always found the hand of my thought at the arc of the ninth heaven.
If others' verses were hung from the door of the Ka'ba,
I hung my discourse from the arc of the ninth heaven.

بارگهِ قیامت که ماجرا بخشند[2]
گناهِ کعبه بخاکِ کلیسا بخشند

At the court of the day of Resurrection when they forgive affairs,
The sins of the Ka'ba they will forego for the sake of Christian Church.

ز دور دامنِ طلب زنده بمحمل نرسد[3]
تا نمیرند درین بحر بساحل نرسد
ناقه شوق درین بادیه حیران فیضی
رو که منزل طلبان در حرمِ دل نرسد

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[1] Ibid
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid, p 241

Those who traverse the path of love, do not
reach the litter of their beloved, alive,
Until they die in this ocean, they do not
reach the shore ;
Move thy camel of love in this desert, O Faizi,
Haste, for the seekers after halting stages do
not reach the sanctuary of the heart

[1] چه کششهاست که در زلف بتان تعبیه شد
کز حقیقت دو جهان رو به مجاز آوردند

What attractions were they that were hidden
in the curly locks of the beloved !
That from Reality both the worlds brought
their faces to the unreal

[2] کعبه را ویران مکن ای عشق کانجا یک نفس
گه گهی پس ماندگان راه منزل میکنند

Do not desert the Ka'ba, O love, for there
one moment
Off and on, those who lagged behind on the
way make a halt.

[3] نظر فیض چو بر خاک نشینان فگنم
مور را مغز سلیمان رسد از قسمت ما

When I cast my bounteous look at those who
sit on the dust,
The ant receives the brain of Solomon
through our luck.

---

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p 228

مپرس اهلِ نظر چوں بعرش بنوسند[1]
که پا نه کنگرهٔ دل نهاده برجستند

Do not ask how the possessors of sight reached the ninth heaven ?
Having put their step on the turret of their heart they jumped over.

درین دیار گروهے شکرلباں هستند[2]
که باده با نمك آمیختند و بد مستند

In this neighbourhood there is a group of people with sugared lips,
Who mixed wine with salt and became dead drunk.

نه گویم ای فلك از کجرویهاے تو در گردی[3]
شبِ وصل است خواهم اند کے آهسته تر گردی
ز مهتابِ رخش کاشانه من روشن است امشب
اگر وقتِ طلوعت آمد ای خورشید بر گردی

I do not say, O sky, thou shouldst turn back (abstain) from thy crooked ways,
It is the night of the union with the beloved,
I only desire that thou shouldst move a bit more slowly ;
From the moonlight of his face, my dwelling is illumined tonight,
If the time of thy rising comes, O sun, go ye back.

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1 Ibid., p 289
2 Ibid
3 Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg, MSS , fol 15a.

[1] نماند گریه شبِ وصل بیقراران را
سهیلِ طلعتِ آن ماه برد باران را

To the impatient lovers, no tears remained on the night of the union with the beloved,
The Canopus of the face of that moon swept off the rain.

[2] خبر برند شبِ عید پیرِ مصطبه را
که راست میکنم امشب قصورِ سی شبه را

Carry the news on the night of 'Īd to the old man of the tavern,
That I make good the fault of thirty nights tonight.

'*Rubā'ī*' (*quatrain*)

[3] فیضی دمِ پیریست قدم دیده بنه
یا از مژه می نهی پسندیده بنه
از عشقِ همه هیچ نگشاید هیچ
لختی نفس از دل و پر دیده بنه

Faizī, it is the breath of old age, look before thou steppeth out,
Thou art putting thy eyelash-like foot, put it on chosen ground ;

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[1] Ibid., fol 17b

[2] Ibid., fol. 18a.

[3] Ā'īn-i Akbarī Vol 1, p 242

Through the spectacles of glass nothing is visible,
Thou shouldst cut a slice from thy heart, and put it over thy eye.

[1]عاشق که غم از جانِ خراش نرود
تا جان بود از تن تب و تابش نرود
خاصیت سیماب بود عاشق را
تا کشته نگردد اضطرابش نرود

The lover, from whose unhappy life grief does not depart,
Till life is in him, the warmth and convulsions continue ;
A lover has the property of quick-silver,
Until he is dead, his restlessness does not leave him.

[2]زان پیش که کردند شمارِ من و تو
بردند ز دست اختیارِ من و تو
فارغ بنشین که کارسازِ دو جهان
پیش از من و تو ساخته کارِ من و تو

Before this that they took account of me and thee.
They took away the power from my and thy hands ;
Sit peacefully, for the Accomplisher of the two worlds
Has settled the affairs of me and thee, before me and thee.

---

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid

[1]مستان الهی که دم خوش زده اند
بے جام و سبو شراب بےغش زده اند
آرایش علم و فضل ازیشان مطلب
کین طایفه در کتاب آتش زده اند

Divine love-drunken, who have breathed a happy breath,
Have drunk pure wine without the cup and the jar .
Seek not the ornament of learning and accomplishment from them,
For this group has burnt the books.

His *qasā'id* and *qit'a* rank below his *masnawi* and *rubā'ī*, and may be seen in his *Dīwān*.

Faizī's elegiac poemslike his *ghazal* are full of charm and emotion The following *tarkīb-band*, which he wrote on the death of Hakim Fathullāh Shirāzī, gracefully exhibits the above qualities with exquisite beauty of language:

Marsiya (elegy)

[2]ذکر هنگام آن آمد که عالم از نظام افتد
جهان عقل را در نیم روز علم شام افتد
همه گنجینهٔ اقبال در دست لئام افتد
همه خونابهٔ ادبار در کاس الکرام افتد

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Badāuni, Vol II p 370

F 8

حقیقت گم کند سر رشتۀ تحقیق مقصد را
معانی از بیان ماند روابط از کلام افتد
زبانِ جهل جسد بے محابا در سخن رانی
مطالب تا درست آید دلائل تا تمام افتد

گرامی امهاتِ فصل را فرزندِ روحانی
ابو الآبای معنی شاه فتح الله شیرازی
دو صد دو نصر رتب و بوعلی تا او پدید آید
نسبے دارد قضا در نه دکاں زین گونه پردازی
مباهات از وجودِ کاملِ او بود دوران را
بدورانِ جلال الدین محمد اکبرِ غازی
شهنشاهِ جهاں را از وفاتش دیده پر نم شد
سکندر را سکِ حسرت زنعش افلاطون ز عالم شد

His most touching elegy is the following which he wrote on the death of his son ·

[1] ای روشنیِ دیدۀ روشن چگونۀ
من بے تو تیره روز تو بے من چگونۀ

---

1 Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg MSS, fol 19a
Note.—It is regrettable that only one *band* is quoted in the Bayāz, while the Dīwān is quite silent on the point.

ماتم سراست خانهٔ من در فراقِ تو
تو زیرِ خاک ساختهٔ مسکن چگونهٔ
بر خار و خس که بستر و بالینِ خوابِ تست
ای یاسمین عذار سمن تن چگونهٔ
شد وقت آنکه دیده چو دل غرق خون کنم
خونابهٔ گره شده از دل برون کنم
آن غصهٔ که بس نخوردم کنون خورم
وان ناله که بیش نکردم کنون کنم
گویند عاقلان رهِ صبر اختیار کن
چون اختیار در کفِ من نیست چون کنم

Character of his *ghazals*

Faizi's *ghazals* have a significance of their own and like those of the later poet, Ghālib, have a deeper meaning and thought than are ordinarily assigned to love poems. His distinctive points are easily noticeable when we compare his verses with those of his famous colleague Naziri, who in his thought and diction remained lovally adhered to the old established rules in all the essential features which a love poem ought to possess. In a word, Faizi's *ghazal*, of which stray verses have been quoted, partakes of the nature of *qasida*, and has a grandeur and depth which do not ordinarily belong to *ghazal*. It appears as if his masterly pen, under the weight of his learning, could

not remain confined to the simplicity of diction and the common expression of emotions of love required in a *ghazal*.

The following samples reveal the tenor of his thought and diction :

[1] ما طائرِ قدسیم نوا را نشناسیم
مرغِ ملکوتیم هوا را نشناسیم
برهانِ ثبوتیم ز ما نفی نماند
از ما نعم آموز که لا را نشناسیم
در کشفِ حقائق سبق آموزِ ضمیریم
ترتیبِ دلیلِ حکما را نشناسیم
ما اهلِ جدل نکتهٔ توحید نگوئیم
در وحدتِ حق چون و چرا را نشناسیم
اصحابِ یقینیم گمان را نه پسندیم
اربابِ صوابیم خطا را نشناسیم
از قافلهٔ ما نتوان یافت نشانے
رفتنِ جرس و بانگِ درا را نشناسیم
بر دانشِ ما انجم و افلاک بخندند
گر صاحبِ لولاک لما را نشناسیم

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[1] Diwān-i-Faizī, MSS., fol. 51a.

وله

(بطرز محوی فرماید)

[1]ای قدِ سکوی تو سروِ رواں
وی خمِ ابروی تو شکلِ کماں
حلقهٔ گیسوی تو دامِ جنوں
طرهٔ هندوی تو کامِ جہاں
هم لبِ جادوی تو آبِ حیات
هم خطِ دلجوی تو خضرِ زماں
آمده آهوی تو عینِ بلا
کشتهٔ آهوی تو سیرِ زماں
بستهٔ گیسوی تو مصی زار
خستهٔ هندوی تو خلقِ جہاں

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[1] Ibid., fol. 57b.

Note.—Mahvi was a second-grade poet of Persian language at the court of Akbar. It appears that Faizi wrote this *ghazal*, probably in his younger days, in the manner and style of Mahvi's following ode:

ای رخِ زیبای تو رشکِ چمن   قامتِ رعنای تو سرو چمن

[Diwān-i-Mahvi, MSS. fol. 76a.]

Some of his *ghazals* are descriptive and conform to the nature of *masnawi*. A specimen is quoted below :

[1] یار یاران طریقت سفرے در پیش است
رہ نوردان بلا را خطرے در پیش است
کس نمی گویدم از منزل اول خبرے
صد بیابان بگذشت و دگرے در پیش است
ہمرہان این ہمہ نومید نباشید از من
کہ دعاے سحرم را اثرے در پس است
ما نہ آنیم کہ نادیدہ قدم بگذاریم
شکر کن قافلہ را راہبرے در پیش است
اے صبا بر سر آفاق گل مژدہ بریز
کہ شب تیرۂ ما را سحرے در پیش است
فیضی از قافلۂ کعبہ روان بیرون نیست
این قدر ہست کہ از ما قدرے در پیش است

A later Indian biographer estimates the number of Faizi's *ghazals* at 179, which, taken at an average of 11 lines per *ghazal*, works out into about 2,000 verses excluding *qit a* and *ruba'i* I have so far not been able to trace any good copy of his *diwan*. The one with me at present is both badly written and incomplete, and contains all kinds of poetry . *qasida*, *ghazal*, *ruba'i*, *masnawi*, and *qit'a*. On the

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[1] Ibid , fol 2ba.

title page the following significant verse appears in *naskh* character

هر نکته که می ریخت ز نوکِ قلمم

معنی ز خدا بود عبارت از من

Every dot which proceeded from the point of my pen,

Its meaning was from God, and its diction from me.

This verse of Faizī clearly shows that he was conscious of his greatness as a poet, and knew the value of his poetry perhaps more than any one else did In another verse, which occurs in a *qit'a*, at the end of the manuscript he makes a confession that he was a follower of Abul Faraj Rūnī ·

ذوقے که توان گرفت از شعر

از شعرِ ابوالفرج گرفتم

The taste (benefit) that could be derived from poetry,

I drew from the poetry of Abul Faraj

His enormous wit and power of composing impromptu poems

Faizī's enormous wit and his extraordinary power of composing poems on the spur of the moment and reciting them offhand straight from memory, whenever occasion arose, stand unchallenged in the whole history of Persian poetry in India. Of the several instances two are quoted here to demonstrate his poetic greatness and wit, not only in India among his colleagues, but in Persia as well.

Once, an ambassador from Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, who was a contemporary of Akbar, arrived at the Mughal Court at Āgra. He was accompanied with personal letters of friendship, and rich presents for Akbar from the Shāh. One of the letters bore the following quatrain from the pen of Mullā Wahīd, the famous poet of the Persian Court. It was read out when the royal gifts were presented to Akbar :

[1] زنگي بسپاه و فيل و لشكر نازد
رومي بسنان و تيغ و خنجر نازد
اكبر به خزينهٔ پر از زر نازد
عباس به ذوالفقار حيدر نازد

Zangī prides upon his army, horse, and foot,
Rūmī boasts of his spear, sword, and dagger ;
Akbar is proud of his treasure full of gold,
The pride of 'Abbās is the sword of 'Alī.

The court that day, according to the Mughal custom of reception of ambassadors, was attended by the nobility, Ministers of the State, chief poets, Munshis, and men of letters. The quatrain of the Persian poet was a direct hit at Akbar, which the whole court felt Akbar glanced at Faizī, who

[1] Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS, fol. 76b, ut supra.

...once came forward and gave the following extempore reply in the same strain .

فردوس بسلسبیل و کوثر نازد[1]
دریا به گہر - فلك به اختر نازد
عباس به ذوالفقار حیدر نازد
کونین به ذاتِ پاكِ اکبر نازد

Paradise prides on its streams . *Salsabīl* and *Kausar*,
The sea boasts of its pearls, the sky of its stars ;
'Abbās takes pride in the sword of 'Alī,
The object of pride to both the worlds is the pure *self* of Akbar.

The whole court was amazed at this wonderful feat and burst into praise for Faizī, who rose considerably in the estimation of Akbar.

At another time when Akbar had entrusted Abul Fazl with the translation of the Bible into Persian, the latter put in the beginning . ای نامی وی ژنرو کرستو[2] which rhymed as a hemistich. Faizī hearing it at once uttered the second hemistich : سبحانک لا سواک یاہو[3] supplementing the first. His ready repartees are also quoted by later and contemporary authors as showing great command of wit and the presence of mind. On one occasion the *Ulamā* of the court criticised

1 Ibid., fol. 77a.

2 Badā'ūnī, Vol II, p 260 [i.e., Thou whose name is Jesus Christ].

3 Holy art Thou (O God), there is none but Thee.

his *Tafsir*, declaring it to be an innovation and against the traditions of Islām, on the ground that no one from among the devout ever attempted to write a commentary of the Qur'ān omitting the use of the dotted letters To this Faizi at once replied that the very formula of Islām :

لا اله الا الله محمد الر سول الله[1]

was without dotted letters.

His influence on Akbar, and his father's share in moulding the latter's religious beliefs through the Infallibility Decree of 1579

Like his brother Abul Fazl, he had a considerable influence on Akbar, and is said to be among those responsible for moulding the latter's religious beliefs. The family was distinguished for their erudition and both the brothers were the sons of a worthy father, whom Badāūni styles as *'Alam-ul-'Ulamā* (the most learned of the learned), who in collaboration with others,[2] drew up the famous محضر نامہ or the *Infallibility Decree*,[3] by virtue of which Akbar's position as *Imām-i-Ādil* (religious head of his Muslim subjects) was recognised in the whole of his protected

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[1] There is no God, but God and Muhammad is Prophet

[2] The other signatories were (i) Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, (ii) Shaikh 'Abdunnabī, (iii) Qāzi Jalāluddin, (iv) Sadr Jahān, (v) Ghāzi Khān Badakshi

[3] Badāunī, Vol II, p 271

Note — Badāūni, as an outsider, held it as a religious pronouncement, and did not take into consideration its political significance For discussion on this point *vide* Buckler's article "A New Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579" JRAS, October, 1924

dominions In other words, the religious and temporal powers were united in his person, and his authority was placed above that of the *Mujtahid* or the learned body of jurists within the state, thus leaving him free to adopt or reject the views of any group of *'Ulamā* on matters of religion.

His real name was Muhammad Husain and *Naẓīrī* was his pen-name. He belonged to Nishāpūr and after spending some years in the literary pursuits in his native town, he repaired to Kāshān, where he came in contact with several leading poets of Persia who were living there at that time. Gifted as he was with poetic genius, he soon took his role as a poet in their company,[1] and began to write verses with a Sūfistic touch in the manner and style of Hāfiz At this time the fame of the *Khān-i-Khānān's* poetic appreciation and liberal patronage to poets was rife in Persia, and this was apparently the greatest attraction and incentive for the young poet to seek his fortune in India. He consequently left Kāshān and came to Āgra in about 991 A.H., and attached himself to the Court of the *Khān-i-Khānān*

Naẓīrī his arrival at the Mughal Court, and his lyric poetry

On his arrival at Āgra towards the close of the day, he sat down at night to write a *qasida* in praise of

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[1] Shibli has quoted from *Ma'āsir-Rahīmī* the names of the poets with whom Naẓīrī contested, together with the odes which he composed to their admiration (*vide* Shi'r-ul-'Ajam, Vol. III, p. 184)

the Khān-i-Khānān, which he finished before dawn, and went with it as his present to meet the Amīr at daybreak. He was well received by the latter, who also introduced him into the Court of Akbar, but seeing no special attention of the king paid towards himself, Nazīrī, after some time, ceased attending the royal court, being fully satisfied with the generosity and patronage of the Khān-i-Khānān. After the death of Akbar in 1014 A H, when Jahāngīr ascended the throne, Nazīrī wrote a marvellous *qasīda* rivalling Anwarī's, and presented it to the Emperor, who gave him a robe of honour, and a purse of one thousand rupees in reward[1] In India he had poetical contests with his colleagues Anīsī, 'Urfī and Shakībī, and his contemporaries in Deccan, Malik-Qūmī and Zuhūrī, of the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr. He is the chief lyric poet of the time of Akbar, and stands out as such among all his contemporaries in India and Persia Some speci-

Parallel odes of 'Urfī and Nazīrī

mens of his poetry, with corresponding parallels from that of his arch rival Urfī, are quoted below ·

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[1] Cf Jahāngīr's statement

نظیری نیشاپوری که در فن شعر و شاعری از مردم گزر داده
بود قبل ازین طلبیده بودم - درین ولا آمده ملازمت کرد - قصیدهٔ
انوری را که ع این چه جوانی و جمال است جهان را - تتبع نموده
قصیدهٔ بجهت من گفته بود گذرانید هزار روپیه و اسپ و خلعت صله این
قصیده بدو مرحمت نمودم -

[Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī p. 91.]

'Urfi

چگونه گرنه بخوشد که چشمِ حیرانم
بآفتابِ قیامت مقابل افتاد است

بدیر میروی ای کعبه خورهب فریاد
که مستِ هوائي و آتش به محمل افتاد است

طوافِ کعبه مبادا که با امید سوم
مدد کنند که حماره درِ گل افتاد است

دلم بعملهٔ اسلام مایل افتاد است
صنم تراشِ من از کفر عاقل افتاد است

مرا معامله در کوچه ایست با مرهم
که صد مسیح بیک زخم بسمل افتاد است

ز بار درد سبکمانه دان سهمدان را
که درَ محیطِ محبت بساحل افتاد است

Naziri

ترا بکعبه مرا کار با دل افتاد است
بکعبه بتکدهٔ من مقابل افتاد است

صدای بے جرس از بسوی عرب مدان
که روحِ ماست بدنبالِ محمل افتاد است

بعزمِ کعبه کنند اتفاق خلوتیان
که پیرِ صومعه را بار در گل افتاد است

حریف بس چه براحت بساط می چیند
به نیمه بازی افلاک غافل افتاد است

حرزم هلاک چو عریان گه ما دیدم
که هر طرف نگری صید بسمل افتاد است

مجردانِ سبک سیر از جهان رستند
گهر بقعرِ یم و خس بساحل افتاد است

Naziri	'Urfi
گدای بهرِ مغان سوکه بادشاه و معمر	ر حجرِ خود کرىمي که سىه در طلب است
بر سمادهٔ مصطبهٔ سائل اُمىاد است	هرار بانه گله بر ر سائل اُمىاد است
صرر سالِ نظیریِ بمس بس برسد	بآستانِ محبت شهید شد عرفی
که او دوادی و رهمس سمرل اُمىاد است	برهمے بدرِ کعبه بسمل اُمىاد است
و له	**له**
برده برداشته ام از غم نمهاے چمد	گلرخان محبتِ بانات بسامد مگر
بوسان ممرود امروز کرنماے چمد	یکنفس چاک نه بسند کرنماے چمد
سرو سامانِ سخن کردنِ این جمع نشست	چمد بے بهره سود دیدهٔ گرنماے چمد
پهلو من بسانید برنساے چمد	زلف جمع آر که جمعید برساے چمد
برِ عسرت طلبی لحبِ دل آرم بیرون	کمر ائی تو برانم که نماره سطر
چیده ام از گلِ این بادیه داماے چمد	مسیے آلودهٔ آلاس داماے چمد
حسم بر ممصرِ نظیری همه حوبان دارند	عرفی افسانهٔ ما گوش کنان حلقه زدند
کاسه در نمس گدا داشه سلطانے چمد	حوان نمارای که جمع آمده مهماے چمد

له

گوفتم آنکه سب در عواب کردم ناسماس را
اس ے مںگدارد تانبوسم آسماس را
برآمدحاں ر س واں زلف مںکوںدحواں مرعے
که ار دامے سود آراد و حوىد آسماس را
صبا ار کوی لیلی گرورد بر سرس ملحنوں
کمد آنس فساں چوں شمع مغر اسنحواس را

وله

عبار ار دل نمرداں روبم و ىمم ىشانس را
ىه آب دىده سوىم حاك و حوىم آستانس را
رمسىمهاے سوق ان بلىل سوريده احوالم
سىاسد ے اکر عد نار نمىد آسه‌نس را
بطىری ىالىے دارد که امروىده مںگردد
سگاں ار کوے او گر ىگدراىند اسنحوانش را

Of the following parallels 'Urfī's ode in full, consisting of 7 verses, is reproduced to match with Nazīrī's 7 out of 9

'Urfī	Nazīrī
حسىت ىدارمىد ىمساے ىار ىسىت	هر کس شهىد ان مرهاے در ر ىسىت
اما ر دوں حلوۂ حود ے ىىار دىست	در شرع ىر حمارۂ آىکس ىمار ىىست

'Urfi

آزادیِ وجود قبولِ حوادث است
زانسو گذر مکن که درِ همه بار نیست
لفظیست خوشدلی که ز معنیست نا امید
اندوهِ معنیی که به لفظش بار نیست
دامانِ سعی مگسل اگر کار مشکل است
ره رو ملول اگر نشود ره دراز نیست
دائم دلم ز نعمتِ دریافت خوشتر است
این موم را ز آتش دوزخ گداز نیست
مغرور بد گهر شکند پایِ امتیاز
والا گهر وظیفه خور امتیاز نیست
عرفی ثمرِ نیک و بد از خود فروشی است
هرجا زعونتی نبود احتراز نیست

Naziri

دائم کمان کسی نکشد گه نشسته است
این طاقِ ابرو از گرهِ نیمه باز نیست
عاشق وفا نماند و معشوق سرکشی
حسن از حجاب خالی و عشق از نیاز نیست
محمود را اگرچه دهان زیرِ جام است
جائے نهفتن ز گوشهٔ چشم ایاز نیست
معذورم از ضعف و جگر خسته مانده ام
در عرصهٔ نبرم که نخل ساختار نیست
مارا چه اعتبار و اثر با وجود دوست
جائے که جلوه کرد حقیقت مجاز نیست
بار از غرور مست و نظیری نخود اسیر
بیچاره دل که همچکس چاره ساز نیست

The striking peculiarities of the two poets are respectively ease and flow in the one, and thought in the other. Sā'ib, the poet-laureate of the court of Shāh 'Abbās II, may be quoted as the best judge of Nazīrī's and 'Urfī's poetic powers. He says :

Opinions on the respective merits of the two poets

صائب چه خیال است شوی همچو نظیری
عرفی به نظیری نرساند سخن را

O Sā'ib, thinkest thou that thou shouldst rival Nazīrī !
'Urfī did not approach Nazīrī in discourse.

This not only reveals Nazīrī's superiority to 'Urfī, but also manifests Sā'ib's own feeling of inferiority to him. Mirzā Jalāl Asīr, another poet of the later period, goes much further than this, and says

همچشمی نظیری حدِّ بشر نباشد

Equality with Nazīrī is not within the reach of man.

Mirzā Ghālib also, a distinguished poet of the 19th century, considers it a difficult task and an enterprise to write odes after the manner and style of Nazīrī in the following verse

جوابِ خواجه نظیری نوشته‌ام غالب
خطا نموده‌ام و چشمِ آفرین دارم

I have written a reply to Khwāja Nazīrī, O Ghālib,
I have made a mistake, yet I hope to be praised

The Persian biographer, 'Ali Quli Dāghistānī, observes as follows.

[1] مولانا نظیری نیشاپوری ..... خاقان اقلیم سخنوری.....پایهٔ سخن را بجای رسانیده که شهباز خیال را با هزار پر و بال در آن عرصه مجال پرواز نیست

Maulānā Nazīrī Nīshāpūrī, king of the region of eloquence, has made the foot of discourse reach so high that the royal falcon of thought, in spite of a thousand wings and arms, has not the daring to soar in that expanse.

A contemporary biographer, Shaikh Muhammad Ghausī Mandwī, a teacher of Nazīrī in Arabic, and author of *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, writes to say that Nazīrī in the latter part of his life took his residence permanently at Ahmadābād, Gujarāt, where he devoted himself to religious studies, and his poetry became greatly influenced by Sūfīsm

His poetry influenced by Sūfīsm

Jahāngīr specially invited him to his court, in 1014 A.H., and rewarded him with a robe of honour and rich presents for a '*qasīda*' which he wrote rivalling Anwarī's On another occasion at Jahāngīr's request to write a suitable inscription for a

Jahāngīr's patronage and appreciation

---

[1] Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, B.M MSS, Add 16,789, fol 490

building, he wrote the following *qasīda* for which he was rewarded with a '*Jāgīr*':

ای خاکِ درت صندلِ سرگشته سران را[1]

بادا مژه جاروبِ رهت تاجوران را

O thou, the dust of thy door is the *sandal* for the heads of the wanderers,
May the eyelashes of the crowned kings serve as a broom for thy path.

Taqi Auhadī, author of the '*Urafāt-ul-'Āshiqīn*, says that when he was staying in Gujarāt in 1020 A.H., he met Nazīrī who had the same year received the poetic collections of Malik Qumī and Zuhūrī from Bījāpūr, and had composed counter-replies to their odes. He was the most religious of all his colleagues at the Mughal court, and after making his due pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1002 A.H., he spent the remainder of his life in retirement and religious study at Ahmadnagar, where he breathed his last in 1003 A.H. There is a thoughtful discussion on his style and peculiarities of composition in Shi'r-ul-'Ājam, Vol. III, pp 145 164

Some selected odes.

Some of his most beautiful odes are as follows:

چشمش براهی میرود مژگان تماشاکن نگر[2]

در سینه دارد آتشی پیراهنِ چاکش نگر

[1] Kulliyāt-i-Nazīrī, MSS., fol. 43a.

[2] Dīwān-i-Nazīrī, King's College Library, Cambridge MSS., 165.

دامے که زلف انداخته درگردن سیمینش بین
خونے که مژگان ریخته بر دامن پاکش نگر
شرم از میان برخاسته مهر از دهان برداشته
گفتار بے پرسش نه بین رفتار بیباکش نگر
از کوی معشوق آمده شوریده در حلقه اش
از صید آهو میرسد سیران صحراکش نگر
دل برده در دل ناخن معشوق عاشق بسته بین
بگرفته در انداختن بازوی چالاکش نگر
وحشي غزالي کر صبا رم در بیابان مستخورده
رام نظیری میشود در هوس و ادراکش نگر

With his[1] gaze riveted on the road he travels,
look at his wet eyelashes,
In his breast burns a fire, see his torn
garment.
The net which his curly locks spread, see
it round his own silvery neck,
The blood which his eyelashes dropped, see
on his own pure skirt;
Shyness has disappeared from him, the seal
is broken from his mouth,
See he talks to himself, observe his bold and
fearless gait;

---

[1] *Love* is often treated in Persian poetry as an ideal, and is then referred to in masculine terms just as Cupid is treated in English poetry

He has returned from the street of the sweet-
heart, the lovers surround him,[1]
From the hunt of a deer he returns, see
lions in his saddle-strap ;
He took away a heart in the game of losing
his own, see the loved one of the calling
of *love*,
He won a heart in surrendering his own, see
the skill of his arm ;
The wild deer which takes its flight in the
forest even from the tremor of the wind,
Becomes tame to Nazīrī in all its sense and
consciousness, behold !

[2] ز بیدادِ تو حرفِ مهر را نام و نشان گم شد
کتابِ حسن را جزوِ محبت از میان گم شد
متاعِ دیر اگر داریم بر ما رد مکن زاهد
بعزمِ کعبه میرفتیم راهِ کاروان گم شد
چنان برهم زدی هنگامهٔ شورِ قیامت را
که اکثر نامهٔ اعمال مردم از میان گم شد
اگر پرسد کسی حالِ نظیری را بگو مدبر
که در دامی سر شد آن مرغی که شب از آسمان گم شد

---

[1] The description is of a young beauty who loves some one and is loved by others

[2] Diwān-i-Nazīrī, ut supra

From thy tyranny the name and trace of the word *love* was lost,
From the book of beauty, the pages of *love* were lost,
If we possess the temple-property, reject us not, O holy man,
Resolved to visit the Ka'ba we went, but the caravan lost its way;
Such confusion didst thou cause on the Resurrection morn,
That the judgment rolls of many were lost from their midst;
Should any inquire of *Nazīrī's* state, say to him,
That into his net fell that bird which missed its nest last night.

[1] کمر در خدمت عمریست می بندم چه شد قدرم
برهمن میشدم گر اینقدر زنار می بستم
اگرچه پای تا سر عذرِ تقصیرِ گنه بودم
ز خجلتهای عصیان لب ز استغفار می بستم

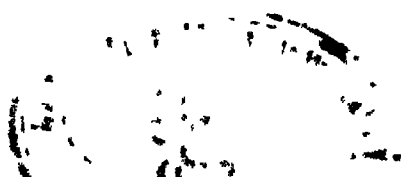
I girt up my loins in thy service since life long, what value didst thou attach to me?
I would have passed for a Brahman, had I worn the sacred-thread so long;

---

[1] Ibid.

Although I was from head to foot penitent for my sins,
Through shame of my sinfulness I kept my lips shut from seeking forgiveness.

[1] چه خوشست از دو یکدل سر حرف باز کردن
سخن گذشته گفتن گلهٔ دراز کردن
اثر عتاب بردن ز دل هم اندک اندک
نه بدیه آفریدن نه بهانه ساز کردن
تو به خویشتن چه کردی که به ما کنی نظیری
بخدا که لازم آمد ز تو احتراز کردن

How happy it is for the two united hearts (friends) to initiate a discourse together !
To talk of the past occurrences, to enter into long complaints !
To wipe off slowly the effects of anger from each other's heart,
With ready-made excuses seeking for re-union ;
What hast thou done for thy ownself, Naziri, that thou wouldst do to us ?
I swear by God that it has become incumbent to avoid thee.

[2] سرا بکعبه مرا کار با دل افتاده است
بکعبه بتکدهٔ من مقابل افتاده است

---

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.

صدای بے جرس ار بشنوی عجب مداں

که روحِ ماست بدنبالِ محمل اُفتاد است

بعزمِ کعبه کشند اهلِ خلوتیاں

که پیرِ صومعه را بار در گلِ اُفتاد است

نه کم ز مستئي مے کرده قبله باده فروش

دلش بگوشه میخانه مایل اُفتاد است

شکسته بر ورقِ جبههٔ تو خامه حکم

که ابروانِ ترا عقده مشکل اُفتاد است

حریمِ خاك چوں دوستاں‌گهِ ما دیدم

که هر طرف نگری صید بسمل اُفتاد است

نکے بگورِ عزیزانِ شهر سیرے کن

ببیں که نقشِ املها چه باطل اُفتاد است

مجردانِ سبك سیر از جهاں رستند

گهر بقعرِ یم و خس بساحل اُفتاد است

گدای پیرِ مغاں شو که بادشاه و فقیر

بر آستانهٔ میخانه سایل اُفتاد است

صبا بحالِ نظیریِ بپیش نمی پرسد

که او بوادی و رخش بمنزل اُفتاد است

Thy affair has fallen with the Ka'ba while mine with my own heart,
My idol-temple is face to face with the Ka'ba ;
If thou hearest the sound of the *caravan* without bells, do not consider it strange,
For it is our soul that follows the beloved's litter ;
O ye, who reside in seclusion, resolve on a visit to the Ka'ba together,
For the old man of the tavern with his burden has fallen into the mud ;
The wine-seller has not changed the direction of the Ka'ba through the intoxication of wine,
His heart is inclined towards a corner of the tavern;
The sanctuary of earth I saw like the ground of *Minā*, where sacrificial offerings are made,
For in whatever direction you glance, a prey is in the agonies of death ;
Just start on a visit to the graves of the honoured ones of the city,
See how their skeletons of hope are melted into thin air ;
The individuals with lighter burdens have departed from the world,
The pearls are settled at the bottom of the sea, while the straws are wafted to the shore ;
Be the beggar of the old man of the tavern, for the king and the poor,
At the door of the tavern, are mendicants ;

No harm would accrue to the property of the far-sighted NAZIRI,
For he still lingers in the valley, his luggage has reached the destination.

[1] سخن دوست گران بود فراوان کردم
جان به بیعانه بیارید که ارزان کردم
هیچ اکسیر به تاثیر محبت نرسد
کفر آوردم و در عشق تو ایمان کردم

Precious was the discourse of *love*, I made it abundant,
Give life as earnest money as I made it cheap;
No elixir approaches in efficacy the property of *love*,
I brought heresy and in thy love turned it into faith.

[2] کفر و ایمان نبود شرط نظیری در عشق
بتو کافر بنمایم که ولایت دارد

The infidelism and faith are not necessary conditions in love, O NAZIRI,
I may show thee an infidel who possesses saintliness.

[3] مردم از زلف تو دارند کافرستانی دگر
دمبدم نو میکنم از رویت ایمانی دگر

---

[1] Ibid
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid

حسن هر سو در لباسِ صورتے پنهاں شود

عشق هر ساعت درآویزد بدامانے دگر

In thy curly locks people discover a fresh land of heresy,
Every moment I renew my faith from thy face;
Beauty in every direction hides itself in the guise of some face,
Love every moment hangs on to the skirt of some one.

[1] اثر نگر که بلب نارسیده آه هنوز

هزار آبلهٔ دل بر سرِ زباں دارد

See the effect of the sigh which has not yet even reached the lip,
That a thousand blisters are cast by the heart on the point of the tongue.

Of the following odes the opening lines only are quoted ·

[2] از گلستاں گل ببازار آمده

عیدِ مرغانِ گرفتار آمده

From the garden the rose has come to the market,
The 'Īd of the birds in captivity has come.

---

[1] Ibid
[2] Ibid.

[1] آنچه زخم از دل برد تاثیر فریاد منست
وانچه نسیاں آورد خاصیت یاد منست

That which heals the wound of the heart is the effect of my lament,
And that which brings forgetfulness is the substance of my remembrance.

[2] هر کس شهید آں مژهاے دراز نیست
در شرع بر جنازهٔ آنکس نماز نیست

Every one who did not suffer martyrdom from those long eyelashes,
In the law of Islām no prayers are offered over his bier.

[3] دریغا درچنیں فصلے حریفم یار بایستی
میاں بلبلم جاے در گلزار بایستی

Alas, in such a season my associate should have been my friend,
Amidst the nightingales my place should have been in a garden.

[4] گر برون از برقع زلف پریشاں آمدی
کارهاے بے سر و ساماں بساماں آمدی

---

[1] Ibid
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid
[4] Ibid

If his face had emerged from the veil of entangled locks,
The affairs of the needy would have received fulfilment.

[1] سحر منادی بلبل بگلستان دریاب
صلای صحبت گل میزند زبان دریاب

Early in the morning hear the call of the nightingale in the garden
He gives a general invitation to have company with the roses, understand his tongue

[2] از کف نمی دهد دل آسان ربوده را
دیدیم زور بازوی ناآزموده را

He does rot give up from his hand the easily-captured heart,
We realise in full the strength of that uncouth arm.

[3] کنم بے بادہ بدمستی کہ سودائے دگر دارم
ساقی تلخ میگویم کہ دل جائے دگر دارم

I show dead drunkenness even without wine. since I have a different affair,
I say bitter words to the cup-bearer, since I have my heart elsewhere.

---

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid

[1]جز محبت هرچه بردم سود درمحشر نداشت
دین و دانش عرض کردم کس بچیزے بر نداشت

Aught except love I presented was of no avail on the day of Resurrection,
I placed my wisdom and religion, but none took them for anything.

[2]فلك همدور ایمائے تو باشد
نوازد هر که را رائے تو باشد

The sky is obedient to thy will,
It graces whomsoever thou willst.

[3]نه تسبیح و مصلا کرده‌ام میخانه آرائي
کنون از اشك رنگیں میکنم پیمانه آرائي

I have decorated the tavern with the rosary and the prayer-carpet,
Now I give colour with my tears to the wine cup.

The following is a fine specimen of elegance, and combines linguistic beauty with melody which is the special domain of Qa'āni

[4]پرده برداشته ام از غم دلهاے چند
برناں معرود امروز گرنماے چند

---

[1] Ibid
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid

زان ضعیفان که وفا داشت درین شهرا سر
قفسے چند تہا ماندہ و رندانے چند
سرو سامان سخن کردن این جمع بہست
پہلوِ من بنشانند پریشانے چند
کشتہ از نسکہ نیاوردند کفن نتوان کرد
فکرِ خورشیدِ قیامت کن و عریانے چند
ہیچ دل راستمِ حادثہ مجروح نکرد
کہ نہ لعلِ تو بران ریخت نمکدانے چند
چشم بر نعمتِ نظیری ہمہ خوبان دارند
کاسہ در پیشِ گدا داشتہ سلطانے چند

وله

[1]ہمیشہ گریۂ تلخی در آستین دارم
نہ نرخ زہر فروشم گر انگبین دارم
نیاد و برقم از احوالِ خویش در گفتار
کہ ابر در گرو و تخم در زمین دارم
کسیکہ خانہ بہمسائیگیِ من گیرد
مدام خوش دلش از نالۂ حزین دارم

---

[1] Ibid

مرا بسادہ دلیهاے من بواں بخشند
خطا نمودہ‌ام و چشم آفریں دمار
سرم نکار نظیری فرو نمی اید
که داغ بندگی عشق بر جبیں دارم

He has the good fortune to wring a word of praise for his poetic charm and gracefulness even from the *Atashkada* and the *Majma-'ul-Fusaha*, whose attitude towards those poets who repaired to India is of special interest, and will be dealt with hereafter. In the sweetness of style[1] and melody of diction, he is the Qā'āni of India The pathos contained in his elegiac poems is most marvellous. His famous elegy, which he wrote in the form of ترجیع بند (*tarji'-band*), on the death of Prince Murād, Akbar's youngest son, is reproduced below as one of the best ever written:

Naziri the Qā'āni of India

His elegy on the death of Prince Murād

ترجیع بند

[2]لب هوش بگشته حنده زه چنگ می زند
در بزم مرگ خندہ بر آهنگ می زند

[1] For a criticism on his style, *vide* Supra, Pt II, *Humāyūn*, p 172, fn. 2

[2] I am indebted to my friend, Mr H A Rizvi M A, LL.B., Under-Secretary to the C P Government for having copied these lines for me from a valuable manuscript in his possession

هرگز زمانه جامهٔ ماتم نرون نکرد
تا رفته شب بدامنِ شب چنگ مي زند
وقتِ گذشته را بتاسف ز پے مرو
کاسمها نشاطِ گام بفرسنگ مي زند
این دهر زور کورکش ایامِ خصم باد
دستِ طمع بگیسوی سرنگ مي زند
دست اجل به تیغِ سیاست بریده باد
از خاك مهر بر دهنِ تنگ مي زند
آرایش جماره و دستار مي کند
گوئي که گل بر افسر و اورنگ مي زند
این چرخِ شوخ دیده عجب بے دمار است
بر جامِ عشرتِ که بس سنگ مي زند
فرزندِ شاهِ اکبرِ والا نژاد مرد
چون بر آورند که سلطان مراد مرد

آفاق پر دریغ و جهان پر ندامت است
این روزِ مرگ نیست که روزِ قیامت است
خلقے بر اضطراب چه جای تمکن است
دهرے بر انقلاب چه جاے اقامت است

این ماتمِ کسي است که از گریه تا به حشر
بر جیبِ صبح و دامنِ شبها علامت است
خون میکند به جلوه دلِ خلق گوئیا
نخلِ جنازه رُسته ازان نخلِ قامت است
هر کس چنین جمال درآرد به حشرگاه
رضوان گرش بهشت دهد در غرامت است
دل از نویدِ صحبتِ او بزمِ سور بود
اکنون سرای ماتم و کوی ملامت است
یاران عجب شکاری از دست داده ایم
بر سر زنید دست که وقتِ ندامت است
شهباز ما بپرید رهِ آسمان گرفت
مرغی نه زنده است که دیگر توان گرفت

ای بزم بزمِ رخِ چون ارغوان کجاست
وی رزمِ در همی شهِ گیتی ستان کجاست
شوقِ سجود و حرمتِ عظیم کمتر است
آن بارِ صدر و سر کسیِ آستان کجاست

امروز غم به مسندِ شاهی نشسته است
پهلونشینِ خسروِ هندوستان کجاست
آن حکمها که بود ازو آب کار کو
وان کارها که آمد ازو بوی جان کجاست
دلها بزار غمست عزیزان چه واقعست
یك دل شگفته بسبب خوشي درجهان کجاست
هر جا به سوگِ مرگ گروهے نشسته اند
زین غم که عام گشت ندانم امان کجاست
برگ و شگوفه ریخته بر از کجا خورم
بشکست شاخ و برگ مرا آشیان کجاست
کس را سرود درخورِ این تعزیت نبود
پیدا کنند کاولِ این داستان کجاست
خلقے به سوی اند بگویند حال چیست
صبرِ سخن شنیدن و تابِ بیان کجاست
آمان ز دردِ مصیبت او ممتحن شده
این مرگ ساعتِ المِ مرد و زن شده

عم حاست٬ در پیاله مے از ساغر افگنید
شد نیم نمرہ ٬ پردہ ازآں رخ بر افگنید
شمعیکہ دھر روشن ازو بود مردہ است
پروانہ را بزند و بخاکستر افگنند
در خانہ اش ز حلقۂ مادم حرام نیست
این حلقہ را ز صحن سرا بر در افگنند
ریحانِ جلوہ با سمنِ عشوہ ریختہ
چیدند وھم بران دل جان برور افگنند
نالیں زتابِ کاکلش آشفتگی کشند
کوتہ کنند عربدہ در کشور افگنند
رفت آں سرنکہ تاج شاہ سرفراز بود
بر سر کنند خاک و کلاہ از سر افگنند
پوشندہ چند جامہ نیلی زجورِ چرخ
بر آفتاب جامۂ نیلوفر افگنند
خیزید تا باں سرِ تابوت دم زنیم
عرضی کنیم و کار وداعش بہم زنیم

رفتي و كارها همه درهم گذاشتي

آشفتگي به مردمِ عالم گذاشتي

جانهاي غم رسيده و دلهاي بيقرار

در بند و تابِ طرهٔ پرخم گذاشتي

از تو غبار بر دلِ بيگانهٔ نبود

شهرِ چه بر دلِ بدر اين غم گذاشتي

روز و شب برسمِ جنيبت ستاده بود

در زينِ خوش اشهب و ادهم گذاشتي

شمعِ مزار و خشتِ لحد ساختي قبول

رخسارِ بخت و طرهٔ برهم گذاشتي

همت ترا به ملك نياورد سر فرود

عالم بهر كه خواست مسلّم گذاشتي

حرمت نگاه داشتي و جاي هوس را

بهرِ برادران معظّم گذاشتي

خرسند بي تو گر همه دل چون دلِ منست

هردل كه بي تو خون نشود سنگ و آهنست

ای شاهِ مصر دور ز کنعاں چگونهٔ
ای یوسف از جدائیِ اخواں چگونهٔ

هرگهٔ جلوه کرده تقاضا چه میکنی
با حسنِ شوخ در پیِ رنداں چگونهٔ

اسکندر از غمِ تو به ظلمت نشسته است
در زیرِ گل تو چشمهٔ حیواں چگونهٔ

ای پارهٔ زجان و جگر گوشهٔ پدر
گشته جدا ز دیدهٔ داماں چگونهٔ

ما پارے از فراقِ تو در خونِ دیده ایم
تو در میانِ روضهٔ رضواں چگونهٔ

آوازِ نوحه طبع و دل آشفته میکند
ای بختِ هوس بخوابِ پریشاں چگونهٔ

اینجاست کارِ دهر و دیواں حواله بود
آنجا بگو ز پرسشِ دیواں چگونهٔ

بلرم سنک ساب بر آنجا ز ستم است
در بحرِ کل تو قطرهٔ باراں چگونهٔ

چوں کارِ زندگانِ دگر دست کارِ تو
محشر شتاب میکند از انتظارِ تو

فردا کلاهِ پادشهي بر سرِ تو باد

رسم‌العمل سرورِ حرا دفترِ تو باد

فردا که روزِ حشر بر انگیزی از زمین

دوس و کنارِ حور و پری محشرِ تو باد

روزیکه کارها همه موقوفِ حق شود

حمریل کارساز و خدا یاورِ تو باد

وقتِ سوال، گوش و لبِ منکر و نکیر

پر از قبولِ نکتهٔ جان پرورِ تو باد

آن حلهٔ که آدم ازو دلّ و قدر یافت

گر زحمتِ دو کون دود در برِ تو باد

مجموعهٔ عمل چو به محشر در آوری

کارِ تو راست همچو خطِ مسطرِ تو باد

مغز از بخورِ روی مزارت معطر است

بوی بهشت همنفسِ مجمرِ تو باد

آدم بهای تو نشناسد درین جهان
تسبیح قدس در دلِ کان گوهرِ تو باد

نخل ریاضِ ملک بآبِ عزیزِ تست
سرسبز از دعای ثناگسترِ تو باد

کارش نه حسنِ شاهدِ فرخندگی بود
هرچند بر تو مرگ، برو زندگی بود

Among the poets of the Mughal Court, the one whose poetry may be said to have a close resemblance with that of Hāfiz, is Nazīrī. Not only in his thought, sphere, and natural tendencies he appears to be a second Hāfiz, but that he seems to have endeavoured to follow steadfastly in the footsteps of his predecessor, whose choice, of all the branches of poetry, fell on *ghazal*. The *love divine*, with which Hāfiz's poetry is replete, may be observed in Nazīrī as well, with requisite charm and grace. Hāfiz was a Sūfī, and so was Nazīrī. Both had retired from the public life: the one in his middle and the other in his old age. What is more particularly noticeable is that Nazīrī, from the very outset, imitates Hāfiz closely, and composes the first ode of his *dīwān* in almost the same strain, beginning from an Arabic hemistich and ending in the same. A comparison will readily reveal the points of similarity and the extent to which Nazīrī had succeeded in this task:

Nazīrī compared with Hāfiz

Hāfiz	Nasiri
الا يا ايها الساقي ادر كا سا و ناولها	اذا ما شئت ان تحيي حموة حلوة المحيا
كه عشق آسان نمود اول ولے افتاد مشكلها	برسواتي بر آور سر ز مستوري برون نه پا
حضوري گر همي خواهي ازو غائب مشو حافظ	نظيري گر طمع داري كه معمولِ مغان باشي
متي ما تلق من تهوي دع الدنيا و اهملها	فلا تحسد ولا تبخل ولا تحرص علي الدنيا

Also compare a few other odes as follows .

Hāfiz	Nasiri
دوش وقتِ سحر از غصه نجاتم دادند	دوش بر سوزِ دل و سينه براتم دادند
وندران ظلمتِ شب آبِ حياتم دادند	سر چو شمعم ببريدند و حياتم دادند
چه مبارك سحري بود و چه فرخنده شبي	درد و صافِ غم و شادي بهم ارزاني شد
آن شبِ قدر كه اين تازه براتم دادند	تا هم و حكمدۀ عشق براتم دادند
من اگر كام روا گشتم و خوشدل چه عجب	گرسنه ديدۀ خر از مفلسِ كنعان بودم
مستحق بودم و اينها بز كاتم دادند	خواجه گشتم كه ازان حسن زكاتم دادند

Hāfiz

هاتف آنروز بمن مژدهٔ این دولت داد
که بسازارِ غمت صبر و ثباتم دادند
این همه قند و شکر کز سخنم میریزد
اجرِ صبریست کزان شاخ نباتم دادند
کیمیائیست عجب بندگیِ پیرِ مغان
خاکِ او گشتم و چندین درجاتم دادند
همتِ حافظ و انفاسِ سحر خیزان بود
که ز بندِ غمِ ایام نجاتم دادند

وله

خیز و در کاسهٔ سر آبِ طربناک انداز
پیش ازانی که شود کاسهٔ سر خاک انداز

Nasīrī

پارهٔ؟ پاره جگرِ طور ز غیرت خون شد
که کهی بودم و چون کوه ثباتم دادند
ناله کردم بنهان عشوه خموشم کردند
گریه کردم ز شکر خندهٔ نباتم دادند
اخترم شعشعه بر چرخ نظیری زده است
کس چه داند که چه عالی درجاتم دادند
تا بمقصد برم کشتیِ مشتاقان را
از خضرا همت و از نوح نجاتم دادند

وله

جام گیر اخترِ افتاده؟ بر افلاک انداز
روم شو غارتِ خاک تو بر خاک انداز (?)

دل ما را که ز مار سر زلف تو بخست
از لب خود شفاخانهٔ تریاک انداز
عسل در اشک زدم کاهل طریقت گویند
پاک شو اول و پس دیده بران پاک انداز
چون گل از نکهت او جامه قبا کن حافظ
وان قبا در رهِ آن قامت چالاک انداز

ولهُ

بود آیا که در میکده‌ها بگشایند
گره از کار فروبستهٔ ما بگشایند
بصفائی دل رندان و صبوحی زدگان
بس در بسته بمفتاح دعا بگشایند

دوستکامی بحریفان سحر خیز دهند
چارهٔ علت مخمور به تریاک انداز
تا چمن دیدهٔ آلوده ترا نتوان دید
دیده از خود به و بر خود نظر پاک انداز
دیدهٔ آنکه نظر بر خط و خال تو کند
ناوک انداز بران دیده و چالاک انداز

ولهُ

هر سحر سلسله از پای صبا بگشایند
گر گشادش گرهی از دل ما بگشایند
هر کجا فتنهٔ آن چشم سیه در کار است
کفر باشد که زبان را بدعا بگشایند

Hāfiz

گیسوی چنگ ببرید بمرگ می ناب
تا همه مغبچگان زلف دوتا بگشایند
حافظ این خرقهٔ پشمینه نه بینی فردا
گرچه زنار ز زیرش بجفا بگشایند

ولہ

عالم از نالهٔ عشاق مبادا خالی
که خوش آهنگ و فرح بخش نوائی دارد
محترم دار دلم کین مگسی قند پرست
تا هوا خواه تو شد فرّ همائی دارد
پیر دردی کش ما گرچه ندارد زر و زور
خوش عطا بخش و خطا پوش خدائی دارد

Nasīrī

کارم از زلف گره گیر تو پیچیده تر است
سر این رشته ندانم ز کجا بگشایند
گر بمیخانه نظیری نبرم این زمزمه را
مطربانم گره از بند قبا بگشایند

ولہ

هر سر شاخ درین باغ هوائی دارد
هر گلی رنگی و هر مرغ نوائی دارد
نیشکر کام امیدم همه شیرین کرده است
پر خود هر مگسی فرّ همائی دارد
برهمن هم ز در بتکده نومید نشد
در هر خانه زنی خانه خدائی دارد

وله

در ازل پرتوِ حسنت ز تجلی دم زد
عشق پیدا شد و آتش بهمه عالم زد
جلوهٔ کرد رخش دید ملك عشق نداشت
عین آتش شد ازین غیرت و بر آدم زد
مدعی خواست که آید بتماشاگهِ راز
دست غیب آمد و بر سینهٔ نامحرم زد
عقل میخواست کزان شعله چراغ افروزد
برقِ غیرت بدرخشید و جهان برهم زد
جانِ علوی هوسِ چاهِ زنخدانِ تو داشت
دست در حلقهٔ آن زلفِ خم اندر خم زد
حافظ آنروز طربنامهٔ عشقِ تو نوشت
که قلم بر سرِ اسباب و دلِ خرم زد

وله

حسن چندان ز حجاب و مژهٔ برهم زد
فتنه برپا شد و نقشی برخِ عالم زد
مطلب جملهٔ ذرات ز جا برجستند
مایهٔ عشق چو بر خاكِ بنیآدم زد
خواست آئینهٔ حقیقت نما نسپارد
قفل کوری بدل و دیدهٔ نا محرم زد
سر این قصه نظیری که نیارد بیرون
گرچه عمری بسخن گشت و ورق برهم زد
روحِ آزاده گزین معرکه جان بیرون برد
دستَ در حلقهٔ فتراك خم اندر خم زد
عقل چون دید که عشق آمد و خونخوار آمد
لب فرو بست و دم از سلطنتِ خرّم زد

Besides the verses quoted above, there are other parallel odes which are referred to the reader in their respective *dīwāns*. But in spite of all this effort on the part of Nazīrī, it has to be admitted that he has not touched Hāfiz in his particular vein. The latter's music and tune which breathe *love divine* are gifted and lie outside the pale of all the poets of Persian language

A summary of Nazīrī's peculiarities of style

Nazīrī's main sphere of thought is *ghazal*, in which he distinguishes himself from his colleagues in the following points :

(*i*) Use of simple, sweet, and colloquial words, which give a special charm and melody to his diction.

(*ii*) Construction of new words and suggestive compounds to depict faithfully his thought, which would otherwise be expressed in long phrases

(*iii*) Materialisation of spiritual objects, *i.e.*, he depicted ideas, passions, and feelings of love, grief, and happiness, like a painter, giving them a lifelike touch.

(*iv*) His description of love and its joys and sorrows is invariably with a touch of personal emotion, like the one who speaks from actual experiences.

(*v*) Consistency in his thought and expression, *i.e.*, he generally sticks to one main idea in his *ghazal* throughout. For instance, when he talks of *separation*, the same trend of thought pervades his whole *ghazal*, as against the practice of other poets who introduce a new topic in each line.

(*vi*) His philosophy is very simple and based often on everyday occurrence, and common experiences of life.

(*vii*) He enriched the language, and gave specific weight and beauty to *ghazal*, of which he became a perfect master in his later years

'Urfi his poetical career at Shīrāz.

Maulānā Jamāluddin Muhammad, poetically surnamed 'Urfi, was a native of Shīrāz where his father held a high rank in government service. After acquiring a competency in Arabic grammar, Logic, and Persian prosody, he began his career as a poet in Shīrāz. His chief adversaries with whom he held poetical contests were Muhtasham Kāshī, Wahshī Yazdi, 'Ārif Lāhijī, Husain Kāshī, and others. On his arrival in India, he first went to meet Faizi at Fathpūr, and chose to stay with him, due perhaps to the latter's poetical reputation. Badāūnī pays a

His arrival and reception at Āgra

tribute to Faizī for his generous reception and hospitality he extended to 'Urfī

'بیشتر از همه بشیخ فیضی آشنا شد والحق شیخ[1]
هم با او خوب پیش آمد ، و مایحتاج الیه او ازوی
بهم میرسید

> First of all he became acquainted with Shaikh Faizī, and to speak the truth, the Shaikh also treated him well, and all his requirements were supplied by him.

Afterwards owing to a rupture caused by certain cutting remarks exchanged on both sides,[2] 'Urfī sought the patronage of Hakīm Abul Fath, in whose praise he composed the following *qasida*, expressing his desire to enter into his service

'حکیمِ عهد ابوالفتح آفتابِ هنر[3]
که از دمش رود اعجازِ عیسوی بر باد
خدا یگانا دارم حکایتی بر لب
که چون مدیح تو بنوازدم فلک اسناد

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[1] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol III, p 285

[2] Cf

روزے ملازمت شیخ فیضی آمد چون سگ بچه را با شیخ مخلوط دید
پرسید که این مخدوم زاده را چه نام است شیخ گفت عرفی
او در بدیهه گفت مبارک باشد

[Ibid]

[3] *Qasā'id-i-'Urfī* p 57, Lucknow, 1880.

خیالِ بندگیت دوش نقش می بستم
ز روی کسبِ شرف نی ز روی استعداد
بخدمت آمدم اینک بگو چه مصلحت است
بر آسمانِ تو باید نشست یا استاد

The physician of the age, Abul Fath, the sun of skill,
That from his breath the miracle of Christ goes to wind :
O master, I have a tale on my lip,
That like thy praise cannot stop on my lip ;
Last night I was thinking of thy service,
Thereby to acquire honour, not by reason of my learning ;
I have now come to thy service, say what thou thinkest best,
Should I sit at thy threshold or remain standing ?

After the death of Hakim Abul Fath, he attached himself to *Khan-i-Khānān*. The *qaside* which he wrote on this occasion is as follows :

[1] ز آسمان و زمین مژده ناگهان آمد
* که آفتابِ زمین تاجِ آسمان آمد
بگو خلاصهٔ تقدیر خانخانان است
که همعنانِ شهنشاهِ انس و جان آمد

---

[1] Ibid., p. 55

خدایگانا حالِ دلم تو میدانی
چگویمت که دلم چون ز غم گران آمد
چه احتیاج که گویم که مرد و عرفی را
چه بر سر از اثرِ مرگِ ناگهان آمد
درین مصیبتِ عظمی که دهرِ سنگین دل
ز گریه هر سرِ مو چشمِ خونفشان آمد
شرف و لطفِ تو بر من گذاشت ورنه بدلست
سرِد عقل که ناوکِ آن زبان آمد

From the sky and the earth the glad tidings came suddenly:
That the sun of the earth (*Khān-i-Khānān*) became a crown for the sky ;
Say that the essence of destiny is *Khān-i-Khānān*,
He is the peer of the Emperor of man and genii ;
O master, thou knowest the condition of my heart,
What should I say to thee, how heavy my heart became with grief !
What need is there for me to say that he died, and to 'Urfi
What passed over his head, consequent to Abul Fatah's sudden death ;
In this great calamity even the stonyhearted age's,
Through weeping, every point of hair became a blood-shedding eye ;

He went away, and left me to thy kindness
to take care of me; and it is a
substitute
In the estimate of wisdom, since it became a
recompense for that loss.

He declares *ghazal* to be his sphere, but attempts competition with Anwarī, Khāqānī and Zahīr, in *qasīda*

His fame chiefly rests on *qasīda*, but it is significant that he himself declares *ghazal* to be his sphere:

[1]قصیده نظمِ هوس پیشگاں بود عرفي
تو از قبیلهٔ عشقي وظیفهٔات غزل است

Qasīda is the composition of people having
greed for their profession, O 'Urfī,
Thou art from the tribe of *love* thy recita-
tion is *ghazal*.

He made attempts to compete with Anwarī, Khāqānī, and Zahīr Faryābī, and wrote *qasīda* mostly in their metre and rhyme. The following is in imitation of Anwarī:

[2]چهره پرداز جهاں رحب کشد چوں بحمل
شب شود بیمرخ و روز شود مستقبل

[1] *Dīwān-i-'Urfī*, p. 19, Lucknow, 1880

[2] Cf. Anwarī's masterpiece.

جرم خورشید چو از حوت در آید بحمل   اشهب روز کند ادهم شب را ارجل

> The face-adorner of the world when it takes its chattels to the Aries,
> The night becomes half-faced, and the day comes to the fore.

The following is after the manner of Khāqānī :

دلِ من باغبانِ عشق و حیرانی گلستانش[1]
ازل دروازهٔ باغ و ابد حدِّ خیابانش

> My heart is the gardener of *love*, and perplexity is its garden,
> Eternity is the gate of that garden, and perpetuity is the boundary of its flower-beds

This is in the style of Zahir

سحرگه دم چو زدم آتش به شمع شعور[2]
شنیدم آیتِ «اِستفتحوا» ز عالمِ نور

> Early in the morning when I put out the candle of my consciousness,
> I heard the verse of the Qur'ān "seek the opening" from the region of Light.

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[1] Cf *Khāqānī's* famous *qasida*

دلِ من پیرِ تعلیم است و من طفلِ زباندانش دمِ تسلیم سر عشر و سرِ زانو دبستانش

[2] Cf Zahir,

سپیده دم که دم صبحم ساده سرور شنیدم آیتِ توبوا الی الله از لبِ حور

Some of his best *qaṣā'id*.

Some of his best *qaṣā'id* are the following :

در حمدِ باریتعالی

۱ ای متاعِ درد در بازارِ جان انداخته
گوهرِ هر سود در جیبِ زیان انداخته

۲ نورِ حرفت در شبِ اندیشهٔ اوصافِ تو
بس همایون مرغِ عقل از آشیان انداخته

۳ از کمان تا جسته در چشمِ بصر کرده جا
معرفت کو تیرِ حکمی بر نشان انداخته

۴ ای بطبعِ باغِ کون از بهرِ برهانِ حدوث
طرحِ رنگ آمیزی از فصلِ خزان انداخته

۵ سرعتِ اندیشه را افکنده در دامانِ تیر
عادتِ خمیازه در جیبِ کمان انداخته

۶ در چمنهای محبت هر قدم چون کربلا
از نسیمِ عشوه ترسِ ارغوان انداخته

۷ مرغِ طبع اندر هوای معصیت بگشوده بال
عفوِ تو شاهینِ رحمت را پران انداخته

۸ سایه پروردِ غمت در آفتابِ رستخیز
ترسِ اسپری برسرِ سایبان انداخته

۹ طعمهٔ عشقِ ترا از مغزِ جان آورده‌ام
آن هما تا سایه بر این استخوان انداخته

۱۰ ای مذلت را روائی داده در بازار عشق
عزت و شان را ز اوجِ عز و شان انداخته

۱۱ هر کجا نابیرِ غم را دادهٔ اذنِ عموم
شادی راحت نشان را ناتوان انداخته

۱۲ زین‌جهالت چون برون آیم که دل درموجِ خون
نوعروسانِ عمت را موکشان انداخته

۱۳ فیض را نازم که هرکس با براهب مانده است
دل بدست آورد جانرا از میان انداخته

۱۴ صید دل را بهر آگاهی ز صیادِ ازل
در کمندِ طرّهٔ عنبر فشان انداخته

۱۵ کرده از عرفان لباسِ عکر را دامن دراز
کوتهی در جیبِ عقلِ نکته دان انداخته

۱۶ طعمهٔ کر جوانِ عشق افگنده ام در کامِ دل
ریزهٔ آنرا حکم اندر دهان انداخته

۱۷ شرع گوید منع لب کن، عشق گوید نعره زن
کای تو هم در راهِ عشقِ خود عنان انداخته

۱۸ دولتِ وصلت که دریابد که با آن محرمی
جوهرِ اول علم بر آستان انداخته

۱۹ حسرتِ حسنِ ترا نازم که در بزمِ وصال
جامِ آبِ زندگی از دستِ جان انداخته

۲۰ وصفِ صنعت کز لبِ هر ذره میریزد برون
نطق را در معرضِ عقداللسان انداخته

۲۱ در تماشایت چون کشادم لب که برقِ ناکسی
منطقم را آتش اندر جان و مان انداخته

۲۲ منکه باشم عقلِ کل را ناوک اندازِ ادب
مرغِ اوصافِ تو از اوجِ بیان انداخته

۲۳ مستِ ذوقِ عزمم کز نغمهٔ توحیدِ تو
لذتِ آوارهٔ در کامِ جهان انداخته

In praise of God

1. O Thou, who hast thrown the commodity of *love* in the market of life,
The jewel of profit Thou hast put in the pocket of loss ;

2 The lustre of amazement in the night of apprehending Thy attributes,
Has thrown many an auspicious bird of wisdom from its nest ;

3. Every arrow that knowledge aimed with unfailing accuracy to hit the target,
Even before it left the bow, it took its abode in the eye of bewilderment ;

4. Thou, in the temperament of the garden of Existence, to prove its fleeting nature,
Hast mixed the colours from autumn ;
5. Thou, Who hast put the rapidity of thought into the skirt of arrow,
Hast placed the habit of yawning in the pocket of bow ;
6. In the flower-gardens of *love* every step is a *kerbala*,
From the breezes of blandishment red carpets are spread ;
7. The bird of one's passion has not yet even fledged its wing to soar in the region of sin,
That Thy forgiveness has let the falcon of Thy mercy to pounce upon it ,
8. The one brought up in the shade of Thy love, under the sun of Resurrection,
Will find himself on a carpet of velvet spread out for him under a canopy ;
9. I have brought a morsel for Thy love from the morrow of my life,
Since that auspicious bird (*love*) has cast its shadow over these bones ;
10. Thou, Who hast given currency to humiliation in the market of *love*,
Hast pulled down '*honour*' and '*dignity*' from their sublime height ;
11. Everywhere Thou hast given general permission to Thy love to produce its effect,
Thou hast rendered the worldly pleasure and comfort feeble ;

12. How can I escape from this feeling of remorse that my heart, in the pool of blood,
Has thrown the brides of love, pulling them by their locks ;
13. I am proud of thy bounty that every one who has put his step on thy path
Brought his heart to his hand, and removed the barrier of life from the midst of him ;
14. The Eternal Hunter, to reveal himself to the prey of heart,
Has thrown it in the noose of the sweet-smelling locks of the beautiful ;
15. He has made the garment of *humbleness* possess a long skirt from divine knowledge,
He has put *narrowness* in the pocket of subtle wisdom ;
16. Of that one morsel from the table of *love* which I put into the palate of heart,
Hell took a particle and put it in its own mouth ;
17 The law of religion enjoins upon me to shut my lip, while *love* commands me to speak out,
O God, Thou art riding on the path of *love* (inviting others to love Thee) ;
18 Who else can get the boon of Thy union, since for all that confidence,
Even Gabriel let fall his banner on the very threshold .
19. I admire the amazement caused by Thy beauty, since in the assembly of union with Thee,

The cup of the water of life dropped from the hand of my soul;

20. The praise of Thy skill which is uttered by the lip of every atom,
Has thrown the power of speech on the tongue which is tied;

21. In Thy praise how can I open my lip, since the lightning of my insignificance
Has set fire to the house and property of my logic;

22 I shoot arrows of propriety at the all-wisdom,
But the bird of Thy praise has hurled me down from the height of discourse;

23. I am captivated by the taste of 'Urfi that *from the song of Thy oneness,*
He has given the relish of fame to the palate of the universe.

در تحریصِ مخاطب بسوی همت

عادتِ عشاق چیست محفلِ غم داشتن
حلقهٔ شیون زدن ماتمِ هم داشتن

۲ بر سرِ عمانِ درد موجِ حلاوت زدن
بر درِ میدانِ دل فوجِ ستم داشتن

۳ حمدِ غم و نعتِ درد بر لبِ دل دوختن
شهرِ دل و باغِ جان وقفِ الم داشتن

۴ نغمهٔ داؤد را از لبِ شیون زدن
آتشِ نمرود را باغِ ارم داشتن

۵ با خطِ آزادگی بندگی آموختن
با دلِ بی آرزو چشمِ کرم داشتن

۶ از ابدی ذوقِ غم روی زبان یافتن
وز ازلی نفعِ درد سودِ سلم داشتن

۷ حسنِ عبادات را برقعِ نسیان زدن
رسمیِ اعمال را لوح و قلم داشتن

۸ در تهِ دوزخ ز شوق جرعهٔ کوثر زدن
بر لبِ کوثر ز شرم حسرتِ نم داشتن

۹ آئینهٔ دیده را صیقلِ حیرت زدن
زاویهٔ سینه را مخزنِ غم داشتن

۱۰ هم ز غبارِ کنشت عطرِ کفن ساختن
هم ترازوی دیر سنگِ حرم داشتن

۱۱ در دهنِ نخلِ عکس ناوکِ لا ریختن
در کمرِ درسِ عشق دستِ نعم داشتن

۱۲ تا نه بری آبِ چشم از تهِی هم ریختن
تا نه ملک داغِ دل بر سرِ هم داشتن

۱۳ در جگرِ اشتها آبِ هوس سوختن
وز اثرِ امتلا دردِ شکم داشتن

۱۴ مستي و ديوانگي جامِ مسيحا شكست
صرفه درين بزم نيست ساغرِ جم داشتن

۱۵ دين و دل و عمر و جان، حمله بيغماي ده
دشمنِ درويشي است خيل و حشم داشتن

۱۶ جامه نراشي سنم، نامه حراسي گماه
ساده و سرهم به لوح و قلم داشتن

۱۷ سست بگويم بطبع به ز شباب است ليك
به ز رعونت بود قامتِ خم داشتن

۱۸ بهرِ نعيمِ بهشت طاعتِ ايزد مكن
بر لبِ جيحون خطاست چشم به نم داشتن

۱۹ اين دو دِ كفرت اساس بشكن و آنگه ببين
مالكِ وحدت شدن ملكِ قدم داشتن

۲۰ مذهبِ عرفي بگير، ملبِ قارون بهل
گنجِ هنر بيش به ز درم داشتن

In Self-admonition

1. What is the habit of lovers ? To hold the assemblies of sorrow,
   To form a circle of mourning, and to lament for the coming woes ;
2. On the shore of the ocean of grief to produce the wave of delight,
   To keep ready the army of pain on the battlefield of the heart.

3. To stitch the praises of pain and grief on the lip of the heart,
To keep the city of the heart and the garden of life devoted to suffering,
4. To sing the song of David from the lip of lamentation,
To treat the fire of Nimrod as the garden of Paradise ;
5. In spite of the mandate of freedom to learn servitude,
In spite of a heart free from desire to have an eye on generosity (from the beloved) ;
6. To turn the face of loss from the eternal pleasure of grief (not to see it as loss),
And from the eternal sale of pain to derive enormous profit in advance ;
7. To cover under the veil of oblivion the beauty of devotion,
To keep a tablet and pen ready for the bad deeds ;
8 To drink a draught of *kausar* with eagerness in the bottom of hell.
To shamefully long even on the brink of *kausar* itself to moisten the parched lips ;
9 To give the polish of amazement to the mirror of heart,
To keep the corner of breast a store-house of grief ;
10. Also, to make *attar* for the shroud from the dust of a Jewish church,
And to keep the stone of Ka'ba in the same balance with a temple ;

11. In the mouth of rich fortune to shoot the arrow of *no*,
Round the waist of the lesson of love to put the hand of *yes* ;

12 To pour down the tears of grief to the very bottom of the earth,
To pile up to the sky the scars of the heart ;

13. To burn down the water of desire in the liver of appetite,
And through the effects of the fulness of stomach to feel stomach-ache ;

14 Drunkenness and madness broke the cup of Jesus,
It is no use in this assembly to keep the cup of Jamshid ;

15. Give all to the surge of the sea—religion, heart, life, and soul,
To keep a retinue of servants is opposed to the life of a derwish ;

16. To mend the pen is a tyranny, to scratch the paper is a sin,
It is better to keep the tablet blank and the pen unwounded ;

17. I do not say that old age is by nature better, than youth, but,
To keep one's back bent is better than vanity,

18. Don't obey the commandments of God for the boons of Paradise,
It is foolish to keep one's eye on spray on the bank of a river ;

19 Demolish this village which has its foundation on *Multiplicity* and then see,
What it is to be the master of *Unity* and to possess the kingdom of Eternity !

20. Adopt the creed of 'Urfi, and reject the principles of Korah,
Better to scatter the treasures of art than accumulate *dirhams*.

در نعت

۱ اقبالِ کرم میگزد اربابِ همم را
همت نخورد نیشترِ لا و نعم را

۲ از رعبِ ندا الم آشوب نگردم
زین باد پریشان نکنم زلفِ علم را

۳ عزم سیاست کند از مسندِ همت
در چشمِ وجود از بدهم جای عدم را

۴ بی برگیِ من داغ نهد بر دلِ سامان
بی مهریِ من زرد کند روی درم را

۵ این جوهرِ ذات از شرفِ نسبت آباست
سوداست نه ابر این دُر اگرچه سرِ یم را

۶ هرچند که در کشمکشِ جاه و مناصب
گمنام نمودند همه دودهٔ هم را

۷ از نقش و نگارِ در و دیوار شکسته
آثار پدیدست صنادیدِ عجم را

۸ تا گوهرِ آنم بسیم بار نه استد
رانای خود از بشرم اصحابِ کرم را

۹ اما نبود وصفِ اضافی هنرِ ذات
این فعوئی همت بود ارباب همم را

۱۰ این نری بحاست که جهد ازگهرِ من
مدح است ولی گوهرِ ذاتِ اب و عم را

۱۱ وصفِ گل و ریحان بهوا بار نگردد
هر چند هوا عطر دهد قوتِ شم را

۱۲ الحمد للّٰه که ندارم نه نسب نسب
اینک بشهادت طلبم لوح و قلم را

۱۳ اقبالِ سکندر بجهانگیریِ نظم
برداشت بیک دست قلم را و علم را

۱۴ نوبت بمن افتاد، بگوئید که دوران
آرایشی از نو بکند مسندِ جم را

۱۵ نی نی غلط این نغمه نموقع نسرودم
این نغمه نشید است دگر صوت و نغم را

۱۶ دوران که دود تا کند آرایشِ مسند
مداحِ شهنشاهِ عرب را و عجم را

۱۷ آرایشِ ایوانِ نبوت که ز تعظیم
خاکِ درِ او اوجِ شرف داده قسم را

۱۸ روزی که شمردند عددهاش ز محالات
تاریخِ تولد ننوشتند عدم را

۱۹ آنجا که سکروحس آید نه تکلم
را سیبِ گرانی نخرد گوشِ اصم را

۲۰ بارانِ عفو و غضبش سایه نیفگند
هشت منصور نشد آرامش و رم را

۲۱ تا شاهدِ علم و عملش چهره نیفروخت
معلوم نشد فایده بی کیف و نه کم را

۲۲ تاثیر برد سهمِ تو از حکمِ کواکب
تفسیر نهد هیبتِ تو طعمِ نعم را

۲۳ انعامِ تو بر دوخته چشم و دهنِ آز
احسانِ تو نشگافته هر قطرهٔ نم را

۲۴ زان گریه دهد روشنیِ دل که نیاموخت
روشنگریِ آئینه انصافِ تو نم را

۲۵ در کوی تو تبدیل کند مردمکِ چشم
اجزای وجودِ خود و اجزای قدم را

۲۶ از بس شرفِ گوهرِ تو منشی تقدیر
آمروز که بگذاشتی اقلیمِ قدم را

۲۷ تا حکمِ نزولِ تو درین دار نوشته است
صد رہ بہ عبث مار تراشید قلم را

۲۸ گر جوهرِ اول بکردم تو در آید
تن در بہ دهد قامتِ تعظیم تو هم را

۲۹ آمروز که امکانِ حشم حادثه آراست
در سایهٔ انصافِ تو مشکواست حشم را

۳۰ تا کونِ ترا اصلِ مهمات نخواندند
نشنید قضا ترجمهٔ لفظِ اهم را

۳۱ تا مجمعِ امکان و وجوب تو نوشتند
مورد معین نشد اطلاقِ اعم را

۳۲ تقدیر بیک ناقه نشانید دو محمل
سلمای حدوثِ تو و لیلای قدم را

۳۳ تا نامِ ترا افسرِ فهرست نه کردند
شیرازهٔ مجموعه نه بستند کرم را

۳۴ عرفی مشتاب این رهِ نعت است نه صحراست
آهسته که ره بر دمِ تیغ است قدم را

۳۵ هشدار که نتوان بیک آهنگ سرودن
نعتِ شهِ کونین و مدیحِ کے و جم را

۳۶ شایستهٔ بدست آر که بیند درین شهر
شایستگیِ حسن چه بسیار و چه کم را

۳۷ گیرم که خرد حصر کند مایهٔ نعتش
آن حوصله آخر ز کجا نطق و رقم را

۳۷ شاها به عطایی که ازان کام که دادی
نومید مهل عرفیِ محروم و دژم را

۳۹ از باغِ نعیمش مدد انعام و منابر
تا مطلبِ او مطلبِ اصحابِ سکم را

۴۰ آسایشِ همسایگیِ حق ز تو خواهد
او هیمهٔ دوزخ نکند باغ ارم را

۴۱ دانم نه رسد ذره بخورشید ولیکن
سوی طیران میکشد اربابِ همم را

۴۲ هر چند طبیعی بود این مس‌تو بفرمای
تا جلوه دهد نقص تو اکسیر کرم را

۴۳ من هم ز خجالت لبِ خجلت بگشایم
ای آب حیات از لبِ تو خضرِ نعم را

۴۴ هرگاه که در مدح بلغزم تو ببخشای
کز مدح ندانم منِ حیران شده دم را

۴۵ تحصیلِ ثواب و شرفِ نسبتِ نعمت
زینگونه خجل ساخته حسّانِ عجم را

۳۶ تا مدح تو آمد ز مشیت به نوشتن
بالا نگرِستن نشد ارباب قلم را

۳۷ دانش به کشاید نسرا عمدهٔ نعتت
زینهاست که اندیشه نگون کرد علم را

۳۸ مدحِ تو ز اخلاص کم گنبه به از علم
از بتکده چون آورم آهوی حرم را

In praise of the Prophet.

1. The acceptance of gifts hurts the pride of the ambitious,
Their loftiness does not brook the lancet of *yes* and *no* ;
2. I am not worried with the desires of this world,
By this wind I will not disturb the curly locks of *love* ;
3. My poverty would drag me down chastising from the throne of magnanimity,
If I were not to admit transitoriness of things in the eye of existence ;
4. My indigence inflicts a scar of envy on the heart of opulence,
My indifference makes the face of gold coin pale ;
5. This jewel of intrinsic merit I owe to my sacred connection with my ancestors,
Although this pearl of mine has raised the head of the ocean to the clouds ;

6 & 7. Although in the struggle for rank and position,
All have thrown into oblivion their dynasties;
Yet, from the paintings and drawings surviving on the broken walls and doors,
The signs of the great men of Persia are apparent;

8. Up to Adam my lineage would not halt,
If I were to count generous men from among my ancestors;

9. But the additional qualification is not the real merit of the *self*,
This is the ruling of magnanimity for the magnanimous;

10 This effulgence of nobleness which flashes from my jewel,
Is praise, but it is for my father's and uncle's gems;

11 The merit of the rose and the hyacinth is not attributed to the breeze,
Although it is breeze that carries fragrance to the brain;

12. Thank God, my merit does not depend on my lineage,
I would presently summon as witness the tablet and the pen;

13 Alexander's fortune to conquer the world of my poetry,
Lifted up with one hand the pen and the flag;

14. Now my turn has come, tell *Time*
That it should adorn anew the throne of Jamshid ;
15. Nay it is wrong, I did not sing the tune in its opportune moment,
This melody is a prelude to another song and tune ;
16 & 17. Who is Time to decorate the throne
Of the eulogiser of the Emperor of Arabia and Persia :
An ornament to Prophethood, whose honour is so great
That the dust of his door gave height of dignity to an oath ;
18. On the day when they counted his equal to be among the impossibilities,
They wrote *non-existence* to be the date of the birth of his equal ;
19. In a place where his light soul enters into conversation,
He would not suffer the presence even of a deaf ear lest it fall heavy upon it ;
20. Until the banner of his forgiveness and wrath cast their shadow,
The form of rest and flight could not be conceived ;
21. Until the beauty of his knowledge in theory and practice showed its face,
The significance of quality and quantity of a thing was not known ;
22. Thy wrath takes away from the stars their influence,

Thy dread alters the taste of daintiness altogether ;

23. Thy bounty has stitched the eye and the mouth of greed,
Thy benevolence has torn open every drop of the ocean ;

24. The shedding of tears brightens the heart, because,
Thy justice has taught the moisture the method of cleansing the mirror ;

25. In thy lane the pupil of the eye changes
Its component parts into those of its feet ;

26 & 27 Due to the excellence of thy jewel, the writer of Destiny,
That day when thou left the kingdom of eternity,
For writing the order of thy arrival in this world,
Mended his pen a hundred times in vain ;

28. If Gabriel were to enter thy sanctuary,
Thy stature would not stoop before him to show him respect ;

29 That day when grandeur of this world adorned its existence,
It sought shelter under thy justice ;

30 Until they recognised thy existence to be the root of all important problems,
Destiny did not hear the meaning of the word important ,

31. Until they wrote thy existence to be the confluence of *mortality* and *immortality*,

The object for a common epithet could not be fixed ;

32. Destiny placed two litters on one camel,
The one for the *Salmā* of thy mortality, and the other for the *Lailā* of thy immortality ;

33. Until they put thy name on the top of the list of Creation,
The scattered pages of the book of munificence were not bound ;

34. 'Urfī, don't walk fast, this is the path of the Prophet's praise, and not a desert.
Walk slowly because the path for the feet is on the edge of a sword ;

35. Be careful, for one cannot sing in the same tune,
The praise of the lord of the two worlds, and that of the ordinary kings like *Kai-Khusrau* and *Jamshīd* ,

36 Bring in thy hand something worthy, for they see in this city,
The quality of the articles and not the quantity ;

37. I grant that wisdom comprehends the substance of his praise,
But where has it the courage to express it in writing and speech ?

38. O king, for the sake of thy munificence, of that object which thou knowest,
Deprive not 'Urfī, the indigent and the grief-stricken ;

39. Reward him not from the garden of Paradise, and mix not

His object with the object of the men of greed ;

40. He desires from thee the boon of the nearness of God,
He does not want to make the garden of Paradise fuel for hell ;

41. I know the particle will not reach the sun, but,
The desire to soar spurs the magnanimous-minded ,

42 However unchangeable be the copper of my disposition, thou give order,
That thy bounty may touch it with the alchemy of thy generosity ;

43 I too, out of shame for my sins do not open my lip of penitence,
O thou, whose lip is the life-giving nectar when it utters the word *aye* ;

44. Whenever I slip on the path of thy praises forgive,
For, bewildered as I am, I cannot distinguish between praise and dispraise ;

45. The acquirement of blessings and the boon of my connection with thy praise
Have put the *Hassān* of 'Ajam to shame ;

46. Since thy praise came from Divine *will* to be written,
The pen forgot altogether to look upwards ,

47. Wisdom cannot cut the knot of thy praise, as it ought,
It is for this reason that imagination has lowered its banner ;

48. I praise thee through sincerity, and not with the aid of my learning,
How can I bring forth the deer of Ka'ba from a temple ?

در نعت

۱ صبحدم چون در دمد دل صورِ شور رای من
آسمان صحنِ قیامت گردد از غوغای من

۲ گوشِ اهلِ آسمان و حلقهٔ ماتم بگسست
شنوم تا برکشند آهنگِ ها یا های من

۳ مصر ویران کرده و رو در وادیِ ایمن نهاد
رودِ نیلِ شوق یعنی گریهٔ موسای من

۴ زان دلِ شوریده را بر تارکِ خود می نهم
کاشمانِ مرغِ مجنون شد دلِ شیدای من

۵ زان ملائک چون مگس جوشند از هر سو که هست
چشمهٔ لذت کشا هر موے غم پالای من

۶ کامِ جانرا تازه کردی ای غمِ لذت سرشت
بے غلط گفتم چه غم ای من و ای سلوای من

۷ در خمارِ احتیاجم زان که ابرد دور داشت
بادهٔ کامِ دو کون از جامِ استغنای من

۸ آسماں در بورہ کرد و آفتابش کرد نام
لعلے از آویزۂ گوشِ شبِ یلدای من

۹ نیل گون گردند دوشِ آفتاب از تکمہ ام
بسکہ ہر مو گشتہ کوہستانے از عمہای من

۱۰ مت بازیچۂ عیسی مکن بہرِ حیات
ارزشِ مردن بپرس از نفسِ مرگ آرای من

۱۱ خوردہ ہر دم صد شکست از دوجِ قدس آشوبِ حسن
شوقِ بے ہنگام بارِ مست با پروای من

۱۲ سکہ مستی کردن از خونِ جگر آموختم
ننگِ ہوشم باد گر جز خون بود صہبای من

۱۳ شاہدِ عصمت تلاشِ صحبتِ من کے کند
خونِ حیض دخترِ رز جوشد از لبہای من

۱۴ سکہ از دل با دماغم چندہ خمہاے شراب
کے شوم مخمور و کے خالی بود مینای من

۱۵ مرہمِ من نفضِ جبرئیل از مزاجِ خود گرفت
مرہمے را برد بالا ذہنِ عیسیٰ زای من

۱۶ آن بہشتِ معینم کز بعدِ معزولی ہنوز
خدمتِ طوبیٰ بود ننگِ چمن پیرای من

۱۷ مرحبا ای بادۂ کعبتِ روح القدس
کامدی چون عشق در رفتی ز سر تا پای من

۱۸ من قیامت زارِ عشقم دیده کو تا بنگرد
صد بهشت و دوزخ از هر گوشهٔ صحرای من

۱۹ نفخ صور آمد نحاے لحنِ داودي هنوز
رقص معني میکند طبع سهي بالای من

۲۰ من مطیعِ ملکِ استغنا ولے زاید حکم
دودمانها ی هوس در ملکِ استغنای من

۲۱ دامنم ترکرده طوفاني که در معني یکیست
موجهٔ دریا و موجِ حلهٔ خارای من

۲۲ نور و ظلمت را بود یك مانه در ناندگي
آن ز روي آفتاب و این یك از سیمای من

۲۳ بسکه در معني بطفلي بار میگردم ملك
در حسابِ دی شمارد عملبِ فردای من

۲۴ آیتِ 'لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله' شد گره
بر زبانِ حمرتمل از شرمِ عصیانهای من

۲۵ معنيِ بهارِ من آراستِ بیت الله است
گو شمعِ دیر باشد صورتِ بتهای من

۲۶ لوحِ دل نقشِ صمد دارد چه غم کاسانِ چمن
بافت تمثال صنم بر سینهٔ دیبای من

۲۷ بالِ طاوس از گلاب و عود رضوان پرورد
تا بسازد مروحه در موسمِ گرمای من

۲۸ اصلِ من از دودمانِ نوع انسانی منکوی
حورِ عم رضوانِ درد است آدم و حوّای من

۲۹ جوهرِ اول که فرزندم ز نساکی نوشت
آن زمان سنجید عیارِ گوهرِ یکتای من

۳۰ گر جهان در بنرت آرم روی در گوش آیدش
مرحبا یا امتی از مرقدِ مولای من

۳۱ گر گریند سرمه جرحاکِ درش مژگان چو بار
چنگل اندازد براغ دیدهٔ بینای من

۳۲ سفهٔ دنیاے خاص گفتِ مکسودِ که ام
آسمان گفته طراز خانهٔ حضرای من

۳۳ موجهٔ دریای طبعش بانگِ کوثر کرد و گفت
تشنه مستی ای فدای زادهٔ دریای من

۳۴ در دمے اندیشهٔ قند تو بشگافد ز نم
حلقهاے علم فردوسِ دلِ دانای من

۳۵ تا تو گشتی عاقبِ چشم از رہِ نسبت گرفت
مردمك حکم سبل در دیدهٔ بینای من

۳۶ سایهٔ من همچو من در ملكِ هستی است
سایهٔ تو در علم پیغمبر همتای من

۳۷ آسمانِ وحدتم بر عالمِ فطرت محیط
تواميت بر نتابد پیکرِ یکتای من

۳۸ دودمانِ عشق را از من گرامي در براد
جوهرِ من کرد روشن گوهرِ آبای من

۳۹ نازشِ سعدی بمشتِ خاکِ شیراز از چه بود
گر نبود آگه که گردد مولد و ماوای من

۴۰ این کتابِ آتشِ جان و شرابِ دردِ دل
کس سخن نامست تا کے ز درد از لبهای من

۴۱ من پریشان گوي و سهو اندیش و سودا هرزه دوست
من بسودا مانم و ماند بمن سودای من

In praise of the Prophet.

1. Early in the morning when the heart blows the trumpet, producing lament,
   The sky becomes the court-yard of Resurrection through my cries ;
2. The ears of the denizens of the sky and the ring of mourners have become one,
   Since my lament raised the pitiful cries of "*ha*, *ha*";
3. The river Nile of my longing, fed from the weeping of my Moses (heart),
   Rendered the Egypt of my body desolate, and turned its face towards the peaceful valley of Sinai ;
4. For this reason I place my perturbed heart over my head,
   That my mad heart has become the nest of the bird of *love* ;

5. For this reason angels flock around me like flies from every corner,
That each of my sorrow-distilling hair is a stream of sweet water ;
6. O pleasure-pain thou hast refreshed the palate of my soul,
Nay, I was wrong, what sorrow ? it is my nectar and ambrosia : *my manna* and *salva* ;
7. I am under the intoxication of want, because God has kept away
The wine of desire for both the worlds from the cup of my richness of mind ;
8 The sky begged a ruby, and named it sun,
From the ear-ring of my dark night ;
9. The shoulder of the sky turned pale on account of my resting against it,
So much every hair of mine has become heavy with sorrow like a mountain ,
10 For the sake of life do not put thyself under the obligation to the miracle of Christ,
Ask the value of death from my death-decorating *self* ;
11 Every moment has sustained a hundred defeats from the army of heavenly beauty,
My reckless, untimely, dead-drunk, and thoughtless *love* ,
12 I who learnt drunkenness from the blood of my heart,
May it be a shame for my consciousness if my wine be any other than my own blood ;
13. How could the chaste maiden of love seek my company ?

Since the impure blood of the daughter of grape drips from my lip ;

14. I, who have heaped up jars of wine from the heart to the brain,
When could I be said to be drunk, and my tumbler empty of wine ?

15. My Mary (genius) got the benefit of Gabriel from her own temperament,
My Christ-producing (poetic) intellect took a Mary (poetry) up the sky ;

16 I am that Paradise of meaning whose rank even after banishment is such,
That my garden-decorator considers it a shame to serve the *Tūba* in the Garden of Eden ;

17 Thrice welcome, O my wine of the ecstasy of holy spirit,
That came like *love* and went into my body from head to foot ;

18. My love is so extensive that there are many plains of Resurrection in it, where is the eye to see ?
A hundred heavens and hells arise from every corner of my desert ,

19. The blowing of Doomsday's trumpet came in the place of David's tune, still
My straight disposition is engaged in dancing a busy dance ;

20. I am a slave of the country of contentment but the orders are issued
By the dynasty of *desire* in the country of my contentedness ;

21. My skirt is drenched in a storm which in reality is one
With the wave of the ocean and the wave of my silken clothes ;
22. Light and darkness both shine and have a basis for their brightness,
For the former there is the face of the sun, while for the latter my countenance ;
23. So much in reality I revert to my childhood that the angel
Records my negligence of tomorrow in yesterday's account ;
24. The verse of the Qur'ān " Despair not ye of the mercy of God," became a knot
On the tongue of Gabriel, through shame of my sins ,
25. My intrinsic merit is the decoration for the Ka'ba,
Although my outward appearance be like that of a temple ;
26. The tablet of the heart bears the inscription of divinity, where is the cause for sorrow if the master painter of China
Has woven a picture of an idol on my silken garment ;
27. The gate-keeper of Paradise rears the peacock-feathers with rose-water and incense,
So that he may make a fan for my summer season ,
28. Don't trace my origin from the stock of mankind,

The *Hūr* of the pang of love, and the *Rizwān* of grief, are my Adam and Eve ;

29 & 30. The first Essence (wisdom) which rashly wrote me down as *son*,
Shall know the value of my precious jewel at that time
When from this world I turn my face towards Medina, and into the ears of wisdom the sound will go,
" Welcome O my follower " from the grave of my lord ;

31. If my eye were to choose any collyrium other than the dust of his door, my eye-lashes like the falcon
Will catch in its claws the craven of the pupil of my eye ;

32. The silken robe of his glory said one day " By whom I am envied ?
The sky said, " you are the decoration of my green vault ;

33. A tide of the ocean of his nature invited me to *kausar* saying,
" Don't sit thirsty, O thou, the cherisher of my progeny " ;

34. In an instant the thought of thy glory rends through awe,
The garments of knowledge which are on the shoulders of my wise heart ;

35 Since thou hast disappeared from my eye the pupil on account of association has acquired
The complaint of granules in my clear-seeing eye ;

36. My shadow, like myself, is thy follower in the world of existence,
Thy shadow in the world of non-existence is the Prophet of my equal ;

37. The sky of my oneness has enveloped the physical world,
The stature of my *gemini* cannot endure the attribute of being twin ;

38 In the dynasty of *love* no one was born worthier than myself.
My gem has given lustre to the jewel of my fore-fathers ;

39. What for Sa'dī was proud of the handful of dust of Shīrāz ?
If he was not aware that Shīrāz would become my birth-place and my home ,

40. This roast meat: the fire of my soul, and the wine of the aching heart,
Whose name is poetry, how long will it trickle down from my lips ?

41. I, whose speech is confused, whose thought is unsound and who loves madness,
I resemble madness and my madness resembles me.

در مدح حکیم ابوالفتح

۱ چهره پرداز جهاں رخت کشد چوں به حمل
شب شود نیم رخ و روز شود مستعمل

۱۲ گرد از نفسِ هوا طبع جواهر دارو
خصمت ازسودهٔ الماس کند در مکحل

۱۳ بسکه هر خار گلی کرده عجب نیست اگر
یاسمین بشگفد از نشترِ زنبورِ عسل

۱۴ پیشِ باغ و چمنِ دهر کنون گر رضوان
نسخهٔ خلدِ برین باز کشاید بمثل

۱۵ صورتِ خلد ازین باغ مفصل باشد
سبزتِ این چمن از خلد نه بیند مجمل

۱۶ حور گیسو بمیان بسته در آید بچمن
تا لبالب کند از سنبل و گل جیب و بغل

۱۷ بسکه از سنبل وگل بافت صبا نزدیک است
کز پئی بوسه دو لب را بهم آرد جدول

۱۸ سازد از غنچه پرستار پدیرند بکشر
بسکه پرداخت صبا صورتِ عزی و هبل

۱۹ انبساطی است درین فصل که بکاوشِ عقل
ساید از بار سود عقدهٔ مالاینحل

۲۰ لعلی از گوشهٔ مجمل بنمودست جمال
تا بود لاله که سر بر زده از گوشهٔ تل

۲۱ حاسد آزار سموم زین غزلِ تازه که باز
موسمِ شادیِ بلبل شد و اندوهِ جعل

۲۲ ای شبِ هجرِ تو در دیدهٔ خورشید سبل
چشمِ روح القدس از شوقِ جمالت احول

۲۳ مژه برهم نزدم دوش که در شبِ حزن
تا صباحم درِ دل کوفت تمنای اجل

۲۴ از دل و دامنِ آلوده درِ ناس مزن
دجلهٔ عفو نه اینها نه شود مستعمل

۲۵ بعذابِ ابدی دل نگزارد غمِ دوست
این نه نومی است کز آتش بکند ترکِ عسل

۲۶ لذتِ تلخیِ دردِ تو اگر شرح دهم
توسن آرزو بفرستم بسلامِ حنظل

۲۷ چند از بن آتشِ خس پوش برانگیزی دود
ای بخوش جوهرِ آئینهٔ حسنِ تو مثل

۲۸ آستینی ز وفا بر مژه‌ام کش تا چند
پوسم این چشم تر از خدمتِ خداوندِ اجل

۲۹ میر ابوالفتح که در سینهٔ دولت مهرش
آفتابیست که تحویل ندارد ز حمل

۳۰ روی در روی رود سایهٔ او با خورشید
چشم بر چشم کند پایهٔ او جنبِ زحل

۳۱ لبِ او خنده اگر چشم جهان گرید زار
دستِ او خنده اگر دستِ قضا گردد شل

۳۲ ما هوا داریِ لطفش ز سر سبز ربیع
بهمن و دی برسانند کلاهِ مخمل

۳۳ نگدرم وار نماند زرِ خالص بیرون
گر همرش زرِ خورشید در آرد بعمل

۳۴ عنفش اندر کنفِ عدل بخوابست و بود
وارداتِ عدم و مصلحت اندیشِ اجل

۳۵ در معامله کند روی کتابت به عدو
ضربِ شمشیر ندارد اثرِ ضربِ مثل

۳۶ آسمان گفت ندانم که حلول از چه بکرد
صورتش بهتر از صورتِ عالم بمحل

۳۷ زانکه چون روز ارادت ز جهان سر بر زد
صبحدم دولتِ او زاد سمانگاه ازل

۳۸ زین سخن جوهرِ فعال بر آشفت و بگفت
کای نیک بهره ز فهمِ زصدِ علم و عمل

۳۹ بیمِ آن بود ز خاصیتِ یکتائیِ او
که هیولی نه پذیرد صورِ مستعمل

۴۰ ای تجلّیِ وجودِ تو جهانگیر بقا
وی نمای حسودِ تو عنانگیرِ اجل

۴۱ صفوتِ ذهنِ تو صرافِ عطا لب چو دلیل
جودتِ لفظِ تو کشافِ دقایق چو مثل

۴۲ فلکِ عدلِ تو هر دم بجهان آرائی
آفتابِ دگر از حوت بر آرد بحمل

۴۳ تا گرفته ز سخای تو جواهر دارو
جودِ حاتم شده در دیدهٔ امید سبل

۴۴ مهرِ پیمانهٔ خدامِ تو چون رفت به چرخ
گر نبود اطلسِ افلاک چنین مستعمل

۴۵ چون دماغِ فلک از صیتِ تو مختل گردد
عیسی از مهر نشاند که کند دفعِ خلل

۴۶ گر جعل دردِ سر از رائحهٔ گل یابد
بلبل از مهرِ مداواش نماند معطل

۴۷ جمله همسنگِ گهرهای دل و طبعِ منست
این جواهر که نشاند کفِ جودت به امل

۴۸ قیاس گویم بکنم شرم همانست که کرد
استماعِ کفِ تو صورتِ تو عیش بدل

۴۹ لوحش الله که سبکسر سمندِ تو که هست
دودمانِ کسل از شوخیِ او مستاصل

۵۰ آن سبکسیر که چون گرم عنانش سازی
از ازل سوی ابد ور ابد آید به ازل

۵۱ قطرها کش دمِ رفتن چکد از پیشانی
شبنم آساش نشیند گهِ رجعت به کفل

۵۲ گر بخور شید دهد سرعتِ او در یکدم
آید از نور به ترتیبِ منازل بحمل

۵۳ سکناتِ قدم از شوخیِ او یا معلوم
حرکاتِ فلک از سرعتِ او مستعمل

۵۴ گر سرِ خصم بو بندند بپاش گهِ برع
تا قیامت بگلویش برسد چنگِ اجل

۵۵ در عنان گردشِ او با کرهٔ نار هوا
طی سود دائره بر دائره مانندِ بصل

۵۶ داورا داوریت هست اشارت فرما
تا رساند فلك از بهرِ صداعش صندل

۵۷ دادِ یك شهر ز عرفی بستان کش مغرور
کبر و نازش نه باندازهٔ قدر ست و محل

۵۸ پر غروریست که تا من در مدحت بر دم
این گمان داشت که دو رانس بیاورد بدل

۵۹ بیم تحسین مکن ار گوید صد بیت بلند
که دماغش شده از حسنِ طبیعت مختل

۶۰ هر سرِ مویش اگر بار شکایی بخرد
سو منانیست که چند استدرو لات و هبل

۶۱ بهرِ اصل و نسبِ خویش بویسد بمرون
هرچه خواهد ز نسب نامهٔ اربابِ دول

۶۲ گوهر آمای رموز است نه دریا و نه کان
حکمت آمورِ عقول است نه علم و نه عمل

۶۳ دعوی همت و از شرمِ حسان در خلوت
بشکند رنگش اگر جامه نباشد مخمل

۶۴ گر نیازنکه نهد در کفِ اندیشه عنان
می نهد غاشیه با دوش خرد و اخطل

۶۵ چه قدر عیب تراشم که حسد کم بادا
مشنو عیبِ زرِ دهدهی از سمِ دغل

۶۶ گرچه او بود کنون هست و دگر خواهد بود
اینك آن ماضی و حال اینك وآن مستقبل

۶۷ هر که با او چو عطارد بود مردِ مصاف
صلح و تحسین خوش آید نه تهور نه جدل

۶۸ اینکه ابیات بلند است که از طبعش زاد
استخوانیست ز دیوانِ سخن نخشِ ازل

۶۹ اینچه ذراتِ معانیست که بر روی خوشند
همه خورشید شود گر بشناسند محل

۷۰ دارد از عزتِ اصلِ گهر و لذتِ شعر
پای در نخیِ بری دست در آغوش زحل

۷۱ عزتِ او نه شهید بست که خشرش باشد
ورنه نگرستمی از سمِ مدح و غزل

۷۲ اگر او نامردِ ننگ شد ار لذتِ شعر
شعر از عرب او ننگ بر آید ز ذلل

۷۳ سعر ار و ننگ و گر ند نو زبانش دانی
شرحِ اس نا نو علط حر نو نرم لات و هبل

۷۴ للہ الحمد کہ نا قدرِ نو نشاحب نہ نود
جوهرِ بندگیس چوں هنرش مستعمل

۷۵ انکہ در عهدِ نو عهدِ حم و کے گر بودے
همہ بر حوبس فشاندے گهرِ مدح و عزل

۷۶ سکرِ طالع کند و چوں نبود سکر گدار
ان نك اندیش کہ چسمس نبو أفتاد اول

۷۷ صلہ نپذیرد و اس حسنِ طلب نشماری
حود نو دانی کہ چها کردہ نہ امید و امل

۷۸ او کہ پروانۂ قدر است نسوزد زبس نار
او کہ حمامۂ عرس است نبعند نوحل

۷۹ صلہ برهان گدائی و سبانشگر نیست
بر ثنا گسترت اس آیہ مبادا منزل

۸۰ انچہ دادی و دهی گرچہ نمعنی صلہ است
صلۂ دوستیش باد نہ مدح و نہ عزل

۸۱ قصۂ مهر و وفا بادو نیارم گفتن
کیں حکایت چوں نهایت نہ پذیرد اول

۸۲ گویم از ناصیه اش هرچه نوشتست نخوان
این نگویم که مفصل بشنو یا مجمل

۸۳ در بشارت گهر چند طمع داشت قضا
زان باخلاص تو بشکست غرورش اول

۸۴ عرفی افسانه مخوان نوبت دیگر شعر است
گوشهٔ چشم نمودند که تنگ است محل

۸۵ مدح صاحب نه و حرف خود و این طول کلام
هیچ شرم آمدت از نکتهٔ ما قل و دل

۸۶ بدعا روکه اجابت نظرش بر لب تست
گرچه محتاج دعا نامده مسعود ازل

۸۷ تا ز تحویل حمل خاك زبرجد گردد
تا نزول از عمل نامیه ماند مهمل

۸۸ کشتهٔ مزرع بختت تو برتراد بود
تا بخدنگه چرندش بسان جدی و حمل

۸۹ بعدم خصم درون حسة چو در توبه گناه
تو برون ناخهٔ از حلم چو از علم عمل

In praise of Hakīm Abul Fath

1. When the adorner of the face of the world (the sun) removes its chattels to the Aries,
The night becomes half-faced, and the day comes full to the front ;

2. The black circle of the eye of night gets contracted,
The day gradually becomes squint-eyed ;
3. The pupil of the eye of the former becomes like a hail in hot weather,
The ball of the eye of the latter becomes, so to say, like a drop of oil on silk ;
4. The blood of the black night grows abundant and unhealthy,
Of necessity the lancet of the day opens the middle vein of its arm ;
5. Day, like the silk-worm, weaves upon itself all,
That night, like the bee, rejects from its belly ;
6 Henceforth the day becomes the master of all,
Henceforth the night engraves on its seal the inscription of "humblest slave",
7. It is now time that through the effects of mirth and pleasure,
Wine should not contain for joy in the jug, nor jug in the arm ,
8. The ruby cup and the red wine grow together,
Through the effects of the power of growth, like the tulip and its scar ,
9. The power of growth will give a finishing touch to velvet, as it does to the green lawns,
If they bring it to the garden unfinished from the factory ;

10. The perspiration on the face of *hūr* is turned into a scar, through envy of the beauty of dew-drops on the rose,
A live coal, through the generosity of the breeze, becomes green in the brazier ;

11 One garden goes to another to witness the beauty of its flowers,
One nightingale goes to the other to hear a new ode ;

12 Through the beneficent breeze, it gets the substance of antidote,
If thy enemy were to put the diamond-dust in the collyrium-pot ,

13 So widely every thorn has turned into a flower that it is not strange if
Jasmine blossoms out of the sting of a bee ,

14 & 15 Before the garden and the flower-bed of this world, if *Rizwān* now
Opens, for example, the book of sublime Paradise,
He will find in this garden a picture of Paradise well-defined,
And in the nature of this flower-bed will see a miniature of Paradise ;

16 The damsel of Paradise enters this garden with her waist girt up with the curly locks,
So that she may fill up her pockets and lap with rose and hyacinth ;

17 So much through hyacinths and roses the beauty is attained, that it is near
That the brook of the garden may bring its lips together to kiss the flowers ;

18. May be that on the day of Resurrection they accept the excuse of idol-worshippers,
So much beauty is attained by the images of '*Uzzā* and *Hubal* ;

19. There is so much cheerfulness in this season that without any exertion on the part of wisdom,
It is likely that insoluble problems may be automatically solved ;

20 Is it *Lailā* who has displayed her beauty from a corner of litter ?
Or is it tulip that has raised its head from a corner of a sand-hill ?

21 I may become a harasser of the envious by this fresh ode, for again,
The season for the rejoicing of the nightingale and the sorrow of the dung-beetle has come ;

22. O thou, the night of thy separation pricks into the eye of the sun,
The eye of the holy ghost has become squint by the fond desire to see thy beauty ;

23. I could not close my eye last night, for in the cell of grief,
Till morn the desire for death kept knocking at the door of my heart ;

24. By reason of thy polluted heart and skirt, don't knock at the door of despair,
The Tigris of God's forgiveness is not consumed by these ;

25. Even for eternal torture my heart would not give up the love of my friend,
It is not a wax which would leave honey if heated on fire ;

26. If I were to describe the pleasure of the bitterness of thy love,
I would send sweet medicine to pay homage to the wild gourd ;

27. How long wilt thou cause smoke to rise from this straw-covered fire ?
O thou, whose mirror of beauty is proverbial for its lustre ;

28 Draw your sleeve of friendliness on my wet eye-lashes ; how long
Should I hide my wet eye from the observation of the great master ?

29. Mir Abul Fath, whose love is in the heart of Fortune,
Is like a sun which does not go out of the Aries ;

30. His shadow travels face to face with the sun,
His rank eye to eye with Saturn ;

31. His lip smiles if the eye of the world weeps sore,
His hand works if the hand of Destiny gets tired ,

32 With the loyal support of his kindness, from the head of the verdant spring,
The months of the autumn carry off the crown of velvet ;

33. Not a *dirham* worth pure gold would come out,

If his heart were to test the gold of the sun ;

34. His wrath is sleeping under the shelter of his justice, and it is
A confidant of non-entity and a counsellor of death ;

35. In a place where he makes a hint to his enemy (*i.e.*, talks by mere sign or allusion),
His allegorical speech in effect would be more cutting than the sword ;

36 & 37. The sky said, "I do not understand why his form did not come into existence
Before the creation of the form of this Universe,
When on the very first day of God's *will* to create the Universe,
His *fortune* was created in the morning, and *eternity* in the evening" ?

38 & 39. At this speech the primitive wisdom became angry and said,
"O thou, who has little share from the observatory of theoretical and practical knowledge,
It was feared, due to the quality of his being unparalleled,
That matter might refuse thereafter to assume any other form ,

40. O thou, the light of thy being has captured the whole world of existence,
And the wishes of thy enemy are holding the reins of Death ,

41. The purity of thy intellect is the assayer of thoughts, like the argument itself,
The smartness of thy words solves difficult points, like an illustration ;

42 The sky of thy justice, every moment to decorate the world,
Brings a fresh sun from the Pisces to the Aries;

43. Since the eye of Hope obtained collyrium from thy munificence,
The generosity of *Hātim* appeared like granules in the eye of Hope ;

44. Why did it go to the sky to be made into socks for thy servant ?
If the satin of the skies were not too much used ;

45. When the brain of the sky gets disturbed by the noise of thy fame,
Christ would not, for all his affection, cure the disease ;

46. If the dung-worm gets headache from the fragrance of the rose,
The nightingale would not prepare *sandal* for its treatment ;

47 & 48. All are equal in quality to the pearls produced by my heart and mind,
Those pearls which thy hand of generosity scatters to Hope ;
I say plainly and feel no shame in saying
That it is the desire of my pearls (verses) to reach thy hand that has changed their natural form (*i.e.*, made them look like pearls in thy hand) ;

49. May God remove his fright, it is from thy night-traversing steed
That the dynasty of laziness is eradicated on account of his nimbleness ;

50 & 51. He is so fast-going that when you make him run,
He will go from the beginning of the universe to the end, and come back from the end to the beginning,
(So swiftly) that the drops of sweat which fall from his forehead at the time of going,
Will settle on his hind part while returning ;

52. If he were to lend the swiftness of his steed to the sun, in one moment,
The latter would go from the Taurus to the Aries, traversing all stages ;

53. His footprints are not discernible through his nimbleness,
The motions of the sky appear as old before his swiftness ,

54. If they fasten to his foot the head of thy enemy when the latter is in the agony of death,
Till Resurrection the hand of death will not reach his neck ;

55. When it is taken for an exercise on its round course, up to the globe of fire
The circles of air are traversed one after the other like the shells of onion ;

56. O lord, there is a grievance for thee to redress, just order
That the sky should prepare *sandal* for its, headache ;

57. Take revenge of a whole city from 'Urfi, for this conceited fellow
Has his pride and arrogance neither in proportion to his position nor fit for the occasion ;

58 He is so full of pride that until I knocked at the door of thy praise,
He thought that time had not created any one his equal ;

59 Do not allow him even half the praise, if he says a hundred lofty verses,
For his brain is swelled at the thought of his poetic excellence ;

60. Every point of his hair, if it is split open with the lancet of wisdom,
Is a *Sūmnāt* (temple) full of *Lāt* and *Hubal* (idols) ;

61 For his own descent and lineage, he writes out
Whatever he wants from the genealogies of great men ;

62. He is full of mysterious gems, although he is neither a sea nor a mine,
He teaches Reason wisdom, although he has neither theoretical nor practical knowledge ;

63. He lays claims to magnanimity but lives in retirement, through shyness to appear before mean people,
His colour becomes pale if his clothes are not silken ;

64. Should he, by way of fun, give rein to thought,

He would place the saddle on the shoulders of *Jarīr* and *Akhtal* (poets) ;

65. What number of faults should I coin, may my envy be less,
Don't hear the defects of pure gold from impure silver ;

66 & 67 Although he was proud in the past, still is, and will remain so,
Such is his past, present, and future !
Yet when, like Mercury, it is not possible for any one to challenge him,
It is better to make peace with him and praise him, rather than show hostility and arrogance ;

68. Whatever sublime verses he has composed,
They are selections from the *Dīwān* of the Eternal Bestower of Speech ;

69. Whatever particles of meaning come to his mind,
All would become a sun, if they realise their position ;

70. He has from the honour of the purity of his pearl and the sweetness of his verses,
His foot at the bottom of the earth, and his hand on the arm of Saturn ,

71. His honour is not a martyr for whom there be any day of Resurrection,
Otherwise I would have wept for the hardship of his writing praises and odes for others .

72. If his name was wedded with disgrace, due to his taste for poetry,

Poetry well came out of disgrace, on account of the honour of its connection with him ;

73. Whether his verses are good or bad, thou knowest his tongue,
To explain this to you is a mistake, and to *carry it to another is, as though, to carry* it to idols ;

74. Praise be to God, that until 'Urfi came to know fully thy worth,
The jewel of his obeisance remained unused like his merit ;

75 O thou, if in thy time Jamshid and Kai-Khusrau had lived,
All would have scattered upon themselves the gems of thy praise and eulogy ;

76. He ('Urfi) thanks his stars, and why should he not be thankful,
He who has a single thought, whose eye fell upon thee first ;

77. He will not accept reward, and shouldn't thou consider this to be an indirect demand,
Thou knowest well what he has done with hope and prospect ;

78. He is the moth of Providence, and will not be burnt by this fire,
He who is the pigeon of the ninth Heaven will not fall in mire ;

79. Reward is a proof of beggary and flattery,
May it be that this verse not descend upon (apply to) thy eulogiser ;

80. Whatever thou hast given and givest, although it is in reality a reward,
But may it be the reward of friendship, and not that of writing encomium and ode;

81. The tale of affection and faithfulness I cannot relate to thee,
Because this story admits of no beginning like its end ;

82. I say, " Read from his forehead whatever is written,"
I do not say, "Hear him at length or in brief " ;

83. To scatter upon thee, Destiny desired to possess some jewels,
For this reason it broke down 'Urfī's pride first, and made him thy friend ,

84. O 'Urfī, stop relating thy story, it is the turn of other poets,
They winked at thee that the time is short ;

85. It is not the praise of thy master, it is the talk of thy own self, and at this length,
Art thou not ashamed of the proverb, 'the best speech is that which is short and to the point'?

86 Go to pray for him, for acceptance has its eye on thy lip,
Although the one who is eternally blessed needs no prayers ;

87. As long as the earth becomes emerald green by the entry of the sun into the Aries,
As long as worthless objects remain forsaken by the action of the power of growth ;

88. May the sown-field of thy fortune continue to grow,
Until the Capricorn and the Aries graze in it on the sky ;

89. Thy sore-hearted enemy may disappear into annihilation, just as sin vanishes into forgiveness,
Thou mayest remain out of it (annihilation) on account of thy forbearance, free to move like action out of knowledge.

در مدح شاهزاده سلیم[7]

۱ صباحِ عید که در تکیه‌گهِ ناز و نعیم
گدا کلاهِ نمد کج نهاد و شه دیهیم

۲ نشاطِ طبع بحدّیکه نشود دانا
بحر ترانهٔ اطفال و ترهاتِ ندیم

۳ بساطِ مجلسِ دهر آنچنان نشاط آمود
که نیست را بسماع آشنمن دهد تعلیم

۴ بر از معانقهٔ یار کان نه لیس شجاع
لب از مصافحهٔ شاهدان ببوسه کریم

۵ نوای مرثیهٔ صوم و شادیانهٔ عید
کشاد از اثرِ انبساط گوشِ صمیم

۶ سخنوانِ مائده شد نسبتِ اشتها مطلق
بکام و معده عداوت فرود طبعِ لئیم

٧ بچشمِ وهم ز فیضِ شگفته روئیِ دهر
سوده چهرهٔ اُمید داشت صورتِ ندم

٨ حهان چسن حوش و من حوشتر آنچنان بوثاف
نشسته با خرد اندر تعلم و تعلیم

٩ که ناگهان ز درم در رسید مژده دهے
چنانکه از چمنِ طالعم نفیر نسیم

١٠ چه گفت - گفت که ای مخزنِ جواهرِ قدس
چه گفت - گفت که ای مطلبِ بهشتِ نعیم

١١ نما که از گهرت داد میکند دریا
نما که تشنه لب را طلب کند تسنیم

١٢ زلالِ چشمهٔ امید نعدِ اکبر شاه
طرازِ دولتِ خاوند ساهزاده سلیم

١٣ ازین پیام دلم شد شگفته و شاداب
چنانکه باغ ز شبنم چنانکه گل ز نسیم

١٤ بره فتادم و گشتم چنان شتاب زده
که دستِ اهلِ کرم در نثارِ گوهر و سیم

١٥ چو روزگار رسیدم بدرگهے که کند
زمانه طوفِ حریمش بدیدهٔ تعظیم

١٦ رسیدنِ من و اقبالِ آن همایون فال
چنان فتاد موافق دران خجسته حریم

۱۷ که گر اس نکشیدے عنانِ من قدمش
ببوسه گاه همکرد سر لبم نقدم

۱۸ مرا چو هوش بدوشِ اس بدبد استاد
بلطفِ خاص بدل کرد التفاتِ عمم

۱۹ رموزِ کورنش و تسلیم ۱، ۱۵۱ کرد م
بدابِ مردمِ دانا نه بذله سنج بدم

۲۰ چه گوست که بکامم چه مایه لذت داد
گزیده تو سرِ کورنش نمك چشِ تسلیم

۲۱ نه گفت و من بشنودم مرا نیچه گفتن داشت
که در بیان نگهش کرد سر زبان بعدم

۲۲ لبس چو توتِ خوبش از نگاه بار گرفت
فتاد سامعه در موج کوثر و تسنیم

۲۳ بخنده گفت نه در عذرِ اس گناهِ بزرگ
که رفته نام تو بے حکمِ ما نهفت اقلیم

۲۴ همینکه رفتي ازین آستان نوشته تمار
گزیده نسخهٔ ار رادهای طبع سلیم

۲۵ ازین سخن سرو دستار من گلستان شد
ز بسکه چیدم و بر سر زدم گلِ تسلیم

۲۶ چو باز گشتم ازان آستان خرد خر وے
نوشته داد که این نسخهٔ گل است و نسیم

۲۷ بگیر و زود سر با قصیدهٔ که بود
بشاخ و برگِ سخن بستهٔ ریاضِ نعم

۲۸ ز جا شدم که کدامی قصیده باید گفت
بلهجهٔ که دهد روح در عظامِ رمم

۲۹ من و ستودنِ بطلانِ عهدهای قدیم
بذکرِ منقبتِ عهدِ شاهزاده سلیم

۳۰ ببولدش نه نهادِ سریرِ دهر آن کرد
که با طبیعتِ آتش نزولِ ابراهیم

۳۱ نهیبِ هیبتِ او در مشیمهٔ تقدیر
شکست گوهرِ گفتار بر زبانِ کلیم

۳۲ بعهدِ معدلتِ او که عاملانِ فساد
ز بس عذابِ تعطّل فارغ اند از بیم

۳۳ کشیده فتنهٔ معزول سر بزیرِ لحاف
دریده ظلمِ فراموس طفل زیرِ گلیم

۳۴ اگر عیادتِ مرضی کند عدالتِ تو
جهد بقاعدهٔ اعتدال نبضِ سقیم

۳۵ بروی ازمنه گر آستین بر افشاند
شود بسعیِ تموج زمانِ حال قدیم

۳۶ زهی وجودِ تو در سایۂ عنایتِ شاه
کہ کردہ بذل سعادت همای را تعلیم

۳۷ همه مراد چو امید در قبولِ دعا
تمام قصد چو اندیشه در دماغِ کرم

۳۸ حسودِ ناز و نعیمِ تو بر درِ طالع
چنان غریب کہ طامع بر آستانِ لئیم

۳۹ ز فیضِ لطفِ تو سازند کہ بی سرابِ عشق
شود نه اهلِ محبت دلِ کرشمه رحیم

۴۰ زمانه را همه فرزند گر چو تو بایست
ترا بزادی و بودی دگر همیشه عقیم

۴۱ ز بحر و کان کرمت آن نمایش آورده است
کہ احتیاج نه گوهر گرفتست است نه سیم

۴۲ ز عفو و حلمِ تو دلها بغایتی جمع است
کہ معصیت نه امید آزموده است و نه بیم

۴۳ همای قدرِ تو اوجی گرفته در پرواز
کہ دامِ کسبِ شرف ساز چیده عرشِ عظیم

۴۴ بهارِ خلقِ تو عطری فشانده بر آفاق
کہ بوی مهرِ پدر باز یافت طفلِ یتیم

۴۵ خدا نگاها گویم به مدحِ خویش دو بیت
کزین بناره پرهنر کرد طبعِ سلیم

۴۶ ز رادهٔ دل و طبعم اگر شود آگاه
باصلِ خویش بهاره ز شرم دُرِّ یتیم

۴۷ مثالِ طبع من و هر طبیعتی که جز اوست
زلالِ ماء معین است و دُردِ ماء حمیم

۴۸ خموش عرفی اردن برهان وقتِ دعاست
بر آر دست بدرگاهِ کردگارِ کریم

۴۹ همیشه تا که نگردد حلال بر فرزند
حملهٔ که شود با پدر بحکمه مقیم

۵۰ عروسِ دهر بعموای دره تا خورشید
حلال اکبرِ شه باد و شاهزاده سلیم

In praise of Prince Salim.

1. On the morn of 'Id, in the hall of dainties and comforts,
   The beggar put on the felt cap boastfully, and the king his crown;
2. The heart's joy exists to such an extent that the sane do not hear

Anything but the songs of children and
the merry conversations of courtiers;

3. The carpet of the assembly of this world
is so full of gaiety,
That the sleeve gives instructions to hand
to dance in the assembly of music;
4. The bosom in embracing the delicate
beauty is bold,
The lip in kissing the hands of the loved
one is liberal;
5 The parting song of *fast* mingling with
the music of *'id*
Has opened, through the effects of mirth,
the ear of the deaf;
6 To the table of dainties the hand of
appetite became free to move,
To the palate and stomach the disposition
of the greedy showed more enmity;
7. In the eye of thought, due to the cheerful-
ness of the face of the earth,
What was frightful appears like the face
of hope;
8 & 9. The world so happy, and I happier still in
my dwelling,
Sitting in company of wisdom, acquiring
knowledge and giving knowledge;
That all of a sudden entered from the door
a happy messenger,
Just as if from the garden of *luck* sweet
smell entered my brain;
10. What said he? He said, "O treasure of
sacred jewels"

What said he? He said, "O thou, the object of the garden of Paradise!"

11. Come, the ocean longs for thy pearls,
Come, the stream of Paradise invites thy thirsty lips,

12. The essence of the stream of Hope, son of the Emperor Akbar,
The ornament of the eternal Empire, Prince Salim;

13. From this message my heart blossomed and became refreshed,
Just as a garden becomes fresh by dew, and a rose by breeze;

14. I threw myself on the path, and showed such haste,
As does the hand of the generous in scattering pearls and silver;

15. Like the revolution of *time* I reached the court,
Round the sacred walls of which the world goes on a pilgrimage with the eye of reverence;

16 & 17 My reaching there and the coming out of that august Prince,
So coincided in that blessed sanctuary
That if decorum had not restrained me, his step,
For being kissed would have taken precedence to reach my lips;

18. When he saw me standing shoulder to shoulder with decorum,
He changed his characteristic politeness into special favour;

19. I performed the dues of *kūrnish* and *taslīm*,
In a manner worthy of a wise man, and not in a playful courtier-like style;
20 What could I tell thee? How agreeable it was to my palate!
That well-chosen new fruit of *kūrnish*: the *taster* of the obeisance of all;
21. He said nothing, but I heard all that he had to say,
For in narration his eye took precedence over his tongue;
22. His lip when it took its turn from the eye (*i.e.*, spoke),
The faculty of hearing plunged into the waves of the heavenly streams. *kausar* and *tasnīm*;
23 & 24. He said with a smile, "In penitence of this great sin,
That thy name has gone over to seven climes without my permission,
Thou shouldst write and bring as soon as thou quitteth this threshold,
A well-chosen poem produced by thy sound mind",
25. From this speech my head and turban became a garden,
So much I picked the flowers of obeisance and placed them overhead;
26 & 27. When I returned from that threshold, my imagination, having written a portion,
Gave it to me saying, "This is a present of flowers and gentle breezes,

Take it and carry it soon, together with a *qasīda* which is,
On the twig and branch of speech, a book of heaven's garden ;

28. I was taken aback and knew not what sort of *qasīda* ought I compose,
In tune which may infuse life into the dilapidated bones of the dead ;

29. I resorted to the complete rejection of the old methods,
In writing the praise of the age of Prince Salīm ;

30. His birth did the same to the disposition of the wicked of the age,
As did the appearance of Abraham to the disposition of fire ;

31. The awe of his dignity felt in the womb of Destiny
Has broken the gem of speech on the tongue of Moses ,

32. In his just regime the doers of mischief
Are free from temptation owing to the orders of suspension ;

33. Suspended mischief has covered its head under a quilted wrapper,
Forsaken tyranny has torn its drum under a blanket ;

34. If thy equity attends on the sick,
The pulse of the invalid reverts to normal ;

35. If he were to shake his sleeve on the face of Time,

Through the effort of the waves of his bounty the time past becomes present;

36. What a happy personality is thine under the shelter of the king's kindness,
Which has taught the auspicious bird *humā* the bestowal of fortune;

37. Thou art the sole object of people like the object sought in prayer,
Thou art all philanthropy like thoughts in the brain of a generous person;

38. The envious of thy comforts and wealth at the gate of luck
Are such strangers as the greedy are on the threshold of a miser;

39 Through the benevolence of thy generous disposition, it is meet that without the full effects of love
The hearts of the loved ones become kind towards lovers;

40. If Time wanted to have all its sons like thee,
After giving birth to thee it would have become barren,

41. Thy bounteous nature has produced such precious gifts from the sea and mine,
That there remains no need for any one to obtain pearls or silver;

42. The hearts are so content with thy forgiveness and soft nature,
That sin has experienced neither hope nor fear;

43. The *humā* of thy dignity has soared so high in its flight,
That the sublime '*Arsh* has now withdrawn its net to catch the bird's excellence ;

44. The spring of thy good nature has spread such fragrance in the world
That orphans discovered again the perfume of the love of their parents ;

45. My lord, I say in my own praise just two verses,
Since my worthy disposition cannot avoid it ;

46. If it become aware of the product of my heart and mind,
The precious pearl would revert to its original state through shame ;

47. The example of my disposition and every other disposition beside mine,
Is like that of pure running water, and the dregs settled in the bottom of a kettle of hot water ;

48. Stop 'Urfī thy nonsense talk, it is the time for prayer,
Raise thy hand to the Court of the All-Merciful ;

49 & 50. As long as to a son is forbidden
A damsel who had been in the private chamber an associate of his father,
So long the bride of the world due to the standing permission to enjoy everything from an atom to the sun,
Be lawful unto the King Akbar and Prince Salīm.

Of the following *qasā'id* the opening lines only are quoted :

ای مرتفع ز نسبتِ ذاتِ تو شانِ علم
کلکِ گهر فشانِ تو رطب‌اللسانِ علم

O thou, the rank of knowledge is exalted
through its connection with thee,
Thy pearl-scattering pen is, as if it were,
the fresh tongue of knowledge.

جهان بگشتم و دردا بهیچ شهر و دیار
نیافتم که فروشند بخت در بازار

I roamed the world, but alas, in no town or
country,
I found that they sell *luck* in the market.

منم آن سحر بیان کز مددِ طبعِ سلیم
نبرد ناطقه نامِ سخنم بے تعظیم

I am a speaker so full of charm that with the
aid of my sober intellect,
The faculty of speech does not utter my
verse without showing it respect.

دمیکه لشکر غم صف کشد بخونخواری
دلم بناله دهد منصب علمداری

At the moment when the army of grief draws its lines for spilling blood,
My heart gives to the lamentation the *mansab* of standard-bearer.

ای داشته درسایهٔ هم تیغ و قلم را
وی ساخته آرایش هم فضل و کرم را

O thou, who hast put under thy shelter the pen and the sword,
And thou hast adorned knowledge as well as generosity.

'Urfī and Zuhūrī in friendly communication with each other.

It is said that 'Urfī and Zuhūrī held friendly communication with each other. Once Zuhūrī sent him a present of a Kashmīr shawl which was a little soiled 'Urfī on seeing it wrote in reply three quatrains in dispraise of it. There are sundry parallel odes of 'Urfī and Zuhūrī Some, of which the metre and rhyme are identical with a close affinity of the subject-matter, as if to suggest that they have had poetical contests and competed with each other, are produced below by way of ready comparison of their respective powers

Parallel odes of 'Urfi and Zuhuri

'Urfi	Zuhūri
[1]چگونه گریه نکوشد که چشم حیرانم	[2]بس آفتاب که در سایهٔ دل اُفتاد است
نه آفتاب قیامت مقابل اُفتاد است	ازبسکه سینه بداعس مقابل اُفتاد است
ز بارِ درد سبک ماند دل شهیدان را	شنای عقل بدریای عشق نیست درست
که در محیطِ محبت بساحل افتاد است	شکستهٔ کشتیِ گردون بساحل افتاد است
من از فریب عبارت گدا شدم ورنه	ز دیده بر سرِ من گرچه صد بلا آمد
هزار گنج بویرانهٔ دل افتاد است	گناهها همه در گردشِ دل افتاد است
ز بحرِ جودِ کریمی که تشنه در طلب است	ازان کشاد که پیشانیِ کرمان است
هزار بادیه گله نرز ساحل افتاد است	چه عقدها که نه در کارِ سائل افتاد است

[1] *Dīwān-i-'Urfi*, p 10, Lucknow, 1880
[2] *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p 147, Lucknow, 1879

وله

[1] تا روی دلفروز تو بستان آتش است
دل مرغ نغمه سنج گلستان آتش است
افتاد دامن دل عرفی بدست عشق
یعنی که دست شعلهٔ بدامان آتش است
چون سهید عشق جهانرا فرو گرفت
کشتی مسار نوح که طوفان آتش است

وله

[2] گر شعله است لالهٔ بستان آتش است
گر اخگر است رنگ نهالان آتش است
گر دیده زیب محفل و بسسته مروه
از حس چه نسخها که بدامان آتش است
خاکستری نماد بدادیم و سوختیم
کز آه گرم کار بطوفان آتش است

وله

[3] حسن حسنی نیست کانرا سیم و زر باشد بها
جان و مال کار دانی را زلیخا آتش است
عرفی از اندیشهٔ بیهوده باز آ، چاره نیست
سرنوشت تا بهشت جاودان تا آتش است

وله

[4] عشق در یوسف عروسی چون برآراند دکان
از برای گرم بازاری زلیخا آتش است
شست و شوی دل بر حسرت ظهوری حکمت است
پاک میگردد بدریا لیک اولی آتش است

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1. *Dīwān-i-'Urfī*, p. 29
2. *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p 116.
3. *Dīvān-i-'Urfī*, p 9
4. *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p 118

'Urfi	Zuhūrī
[1] ز طرهٔ مشک بداماں کوهکن باشد	[2] زبانِ تیشهٔ فرهاد همچناں تر است
اگرچه تکیهٔ شیریں بدوشِ پرویز است	هنوز طعمه تراش ادا برای پرویز است
سمندِ سعی چه بیهوده رانی ای فرهاد	ز کوهکن بشنو حرفِ ارزشِ گلوں
که همعنانیِ گلگوں نصیبِ شبدیز است	بهای یک؟ سرِ مویش هزار شبدیز است
چگونه مانعِ نظاره ام شوی که مرا	سرم بسجدهٔ هر در فرو نمی آید
ز شوقِ روی تو سر تا قدم نگه حجر است	به آستانِ تو نازم که آسماں حجر است
ازاں ز شربتِ ملحم هوای پرهیز است	بسند که ذوقِ شهادت فرو رود بگلو
که آتشِ تبِ سوقم نه آتحاں تر است	برای تیغِ تو عشق است کانکسن تر است

In the following the rhymes are at variance but identical in meaning :

[3] زباں ز نکته فرو ماند و زارِ من باقیست	[4] از نگه چشم تهی گشت و تماشا ماند است
نصاعبِ سخن آخر شد و سخن باقیست	در زباں حرف نماند است سخنها ماند است

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[1] *Dīwān-i-'Urfī*, p. 10 (Cawnpūr Edition)
[2] *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p 105.
[3] *Dīwān-i-'Urfī*, p 10
[4] *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p 113.

Faizi's estimate of Zuhūrī and 'Urfī

Faizī praises [illegible] mī and Zuhūrī in a letter whi[illegible] e once wrote to Akbar from th[illegible] Deccan, as follows

در احمد نگر دو شاعر خاکی نهاد و صافی مشرب اند و در شعر رتبهٔ عالی دارند یکے ملا ملك قمي.. ...و دیگر ملا طهوری که بغایت رنگین کلام است

At Ahmadnagar there are two poets of humble disposition and pure life, and possess a high rank in poetry. The one is Mullā Malik Qumī , and the other is Mullā Zuhūrī who is an exceedingly elegant poet.

In another letter to a friend, he writes about 'Urfī

عرفي شيرازی . . که به بلندی و وفورِ قدرت و ایجادِ معاني و چاشنيِ الفاظ و سرعتِ فکر و دقتِ نظر ' فقیر کسے را چون او ندیده و نشنیده

'Urfī Shīrāzī . in height, and overbounding power, and invention of meaning, and sweetness of words, and rapidity of thought and minuteness of observation, I, the indigent, have not seen nor heard any one like him

Badāūnī's conflicting remarks about 'Urfī's popularity.

Badāūnī places 'Urfī and Sanā'ī in popular recognition above Faizī himself;

[1] او و حسین ثنائی از شعر عجب طالعی دارند
که هیچ کوچه و بازارے نیست که کتاب فروشان
دیوانِ این دو کس را در سرِ راه گرفته نه ایستند
و عراقیان و هندوستانیان نیز به تبرک می خرند
بخلافِ شیخ فیضی که چندین زرهای جاگیر
صرفِ کتاب و تذهیبِ تصانیف خود ساخته و هیچ
کس بآن مقید نمیشود -

He ('Urfī) and Husain Sanā'ī possess a wonderful luck in verse that there is no street nor market where booksellers do not stand on the top of the road holding (in their hands) poetic collections of these two persons. And the 'Irāqīs and Indians also, buy them as a token of blessing; as against Faizī who spent so much money of his '*Jāgīr*' on books and on the illumination of his own writings, but no one remains confined to them.

Curiously in the same page at the top, Badāūnī declares that 'Urfī, owing to his arrogance, was not

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[1] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol III, p 285

Note —This remark of Badāūnī should be read with his previous statement wherein he declares that Faizī's poetic powers are unequalled in the age, and his masnawī '*nal daman*' is held peerless in the popular esteem [*vide* supra, pp 42 and 43].

a popular poet and had no place in the hearts of people:

[1]عرفي شيرازی جوانے بود صاحب فطرت عالی
و فهم درست و اقسام شعر نیکو گفتے اما از بس
عجب و نخوت که پیدا کرد از دلها افتاد

'Urfī Shīrāzī was a young man of lofty disposition and right understanding and composed all kinds of poetry well, but on account of too much vanity and arrogance that he had acquired, he fell from the hearts of people.

His death

He died in 999 A.H., at the young age of 36 (according to some 46), and the date was found in the suggestive hemistich.

[2]گفت عرفي جوانه مرگ شدے

He said, "'Urfī died young."

He was buried at Lāhore, but his bones were subsequently removed to Najaf in strange fulfilment of his own prophetic utterance which he had made in the following verse:

[3]بکاوش مژه از گور تا نجف بروم
اگر بهند هلاکم کنی و گر به تتار

[1] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol III, p 285

[2] Ibid, Vol II, p 375

[3] *Qaṣā'id-i-'Urfī*, p 16 [Cf Mullā Raunaqī's qiṭ'a quoted by *Dāghistānī*, B M Codex, fol 302b]

By digging with my eyelashes I will go from
my grave to Najaf,
Whether thou killest me in India, or in
Turkistān.

He was the leading poet of the age in *Qasīda*-writing, and aspired to compete with the renowned poets of Persia. He wrote, '*ghazal*' better than '*masnawī*.' In the latter his position is described by one of his own friends as follows:

His superiority in *qasīda*

مثنویش رنگِ فصاحت نداشت
کانِ نمک بود ملاحت نداشت

His '*masnawī*' had not the colour of
eloquence,
It was a mine of salt, and had no dash
of saltishness

'Urfī, as is stated by Badāūnī,[1] made much progress in India in the poetical atmosphere obtained at Āgra under the patronage of the Khān-i-Khānān. He also benefited by the critical appreciation of Hakīm Abul Fath who in a letter written to Khān-i-Khānān mentioned that 'Urfī and Hayātī Gīlānī had improved considerably. Shiblī has given a critical exposition of 'Urfī's poetry in *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*.[2]

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[1] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 285.

[2] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 102—138

Zuhuri the famous poet and prose-writer of the Court of Sultān Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Deccan
(Secured at Lucknow)

His name was Mullā Nūruddīn, and Zuhūrī was his pen-name. He is omitted from consideration by the author of *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam* which notices his other contemporaries, 'Urfī, Nazīrī, and Faizī. The author of *Natā'ij-ul-Afkar* Muhammad Qudratullāh Gulshan, styles him as Mīr Muhammad Tāhir Zuhūrī, while 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, calls him Mullā Nūruddīn Muhammad. There is a difference of opinion among biographers as to his birth-place. Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, author of *Haft Iqlīm*, states that he was a native of Turbat, while Bakhtāwar Khān, author of *Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam*, gives Tihrān as his birth-place. The contemporary biographers like Taqī Auhadī, and 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, agree that he was born at Khujand, a small town in the district of Tarshīz in Khurāsān :

Zuhūrī : his name and birth-place

[1]وطن اصلي و مولد و منشای وي قرية
خجند از توابعِ ترشیز خراسان است -

His real home and place of birth and growth is the village of Khujand from the dependencies of Tarshīz in Khurāsān

The authors of the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma-'ul-Fusahā* also call him Tarshīzī In Khurāsān he spent the early part of his youth in the acquisition of knowledge, and having studied grammar, literature, prosody, and traditions under the best

Early part of his youth spent in Khurāsān

[1] *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, A. S. B MSS., Account of Zuhūrī.

teachers there, he chose for himself the profession of a poet, due to his natural inclination. While still in Khurāsān, his fame as a poet had spread to other provinces, and consequently he was prevailed upon by some friends to venture competition with the outside world. He therefore left for Yezd where he was warmly received by Nawāb Mīr Ghiyāsuddīn Mīr Mīran, and rivalled Wahshī, the leading poet of Yezd. The author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* observes as follows :

Opinion of the author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* about his poetic genius

[1] چون در خراسان نشو و نما یافت وصیت آوازهٔ
فضیلت و شاعری باطراف.........‌.....رسانید
بطریق سیر و سیاحت و اظهار فضل و حالت
خود بر مستعدان عراق بدار العبادهٔ یزد
افتاد و مدتی دران دیار که مجمع فضلای
هر فن است در خدمت نواب میر غیاث الدین
محمد میر میران بسر می برد و باوجود
حسان الزمان مولانا وحشی یافقی رازِ مصاحبت
و ملازمت یافت و زیب مجالس و محافلِ
آن عالیجاه بوده -

When he grew up in Khurāsān, and the fame of his learning and poetry had gone in every direction, he went to the holy land of Yezd from a desire to see the world and to display

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[1] Ibid

the powers of his mind before the men of letters in 'Irāq. And he remained for a time in that place which is a rendezvous of the learned in every branch of knowledge, in the service of Nawāb Mīr Ghiyāsuddīn Mīr Mīrān And in spite of the presence of '*Hassan-ul-Mulk*' (the eloquent of the age), Maulānā Wahshī Bāfiqī, he found his way to association and companionship with the Nawāb, and was the ornament of the assemblies and the meetings of that dignitary.

His poetical contests at Shīraz

From Yezd he went over to Shīrāz where he entered into competitions with Muhtasham Kāshī, Ghairatī, Anīsī, and Rizā'ī, and became a prominent figure in the poetical assemblies which were convened in the shop of one Mīrzā Husain, a baker. Here he stayed for seven years, continuing his studies and acquiring skill in calligraphy In the last-named, he took lessons from Maulānā Darwīsh Husain who was a man of versatile accomplishments, and was noted in Persia in the art of penmanship .

[1]از یزد بشیراز افتاد و مدتِ هفت سال دران
دارالعلم بود- مشغول شد که با مولانا درویش
حسین که بکمالِ حسن آراسته بود بسر برد و
مولانا درویش حسین را از علمِ تاریخ و معما
و شعر نصیبی وافر بوده و در خط و تذهیب از

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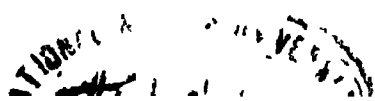
[1] Ibid.

بے بدلانِ روزگار بوده و اکثر نقاشان و مذهبان
شیراز شاگرد مومی الیه اند -

From Yezd, he repaired to Shīrāz, and was there in that home of learning for a period of seven years They say that he lived with Maulānā Darwīsh Husain who was a most versatile man, and had a considerable share from the knowledge of history, enigma, and poetry, and in calligraphy and illumination he was from among the unrivalled of the age, and a good many painters and illuminators of Shīrāz are his pupils.

His connection with the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the great

It appears that he was for some time at the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the great, but left it for want of proper appreciation and patronage. Of the several poetical compositions in praise of the Shāh, there is one *Tarji'-band* in which he very significantly bemoans his fate, and requests the Shāh to bestow upon him reward and give him encouragement. The principal lines are quoted below.

[1] مردم و مدعا همان خامست
مدعا شعلهٔ ابر نیسان
سخن کام خشک و دیدهٔ تر
بسپهساهِ بحر و بر برسان

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[1] *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS.

صله حواهم ز شاه حوصله دیر

کانِ رر قلزمِ گهر برساد

ادس بمال آن بنگاه مي نازد

حان بعباس شاه مي نازد

I died, my desire not yet attained,
To my prayer may the flame of effect yet reach ;
The dry palate of poetry and the wet eye,
Send them to the Emperor of the sea and land ,
I seek reward from the Shāh, and encouragement too,
Send me the mine of gold and the sea of pearls ;
The mine relies on its riches, and the sea on its glory,
But the pride of life is Shāh 'Abbās.

His coming to India stay at Ahmadnagar and Bijapūr.

He came to India in 988 A.H., and stayed for some time at Ahmadnagar where he was appointed *poet-laureate* at the court of Burhān Nizām Shāh. One of his friends to whom he used to send his verses observes as follows :

[1] در سنه ثمان و ثمانین و تسعمائه...

بهندوستان شتافت و دران دیار .. منصب

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[1] *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī*, M.A.O College Library, 'Aligarh, MSS 28- 1-6 , Introduction

F 24

ملك الشعرائي يافت و الحال در شهر احمد نگر
در ظلِ تربيتِ بادشاهِ آنجا آرام داره

And in the year 988 A H., he hurried to India, and in that land attained the rank of the '*king of poets*' and at the present day he is living a comfortable life in the city of Ahmadnagar, under the shelter of the king's patronage.

Thence he proceeded to Bijāpūr where he became introduced to certain nobles of the court. The one most prominent of these was Hakīm Muhammad Yūsuf Bījāpūrī who was a personal physician to the Sultān. Zuhūrī on the first day of his introduction wrote a *qasīda* in praise of the latter, which impressed him so much that on the second day he took him to the court where he was received into the royal favour. The opening lines of the *qasīda* are as follows:

[1] خموش چون شوم ازغیب می کنند ندا
که لب مبند ز مدح اجلهٔ الحکما

مسیحِ ملکِ سما، خضرِ وادیِ الهام
سمیِّ خیرِ خلایق عزیزِ مصرِ بقا

How could I remain silent ? they are giving a call from Invisibility,
"Do not shut lip from the praise of the greatest of physicians";

---

[1] *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library, MSS

He is the *Messiah* of the domain of health,
and the *Khizr* of the valley of revelation,
The name-sake of the best of creatures, the
Azīz of the Egypt of existence.

Meeting of Faizi with Zuhūrī, their appreciation of each other's talents.

The then poet-laureate of the court, Malik Qumī, also became a great admirer of Zuhūrī, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Faizī, when he went on deputation to Ahmadnagar, strongly commended him to Akbar's notice, in a special letter which he wrote from Deccan. Badāūnī also heard him very much praised by Faizī.[1] According to *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, Faizī, on meeting Zuhūrī in Deccan, was greatly impressed with his poetic talents, and so was the other. As a result of this mutual appreciation both since that time remained in touch with each other, and exchanged letters in prose and poetry which were admired at both the courts.[2] It is also related that Zuhūrī had written to Faizī a letter in ornate prose interspersed with beautiful verses, which the latter fell

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol III, p. 269

[2] Cf.

و آمد و رفت منظومات و منثورات که میانهٔ ایشان و شیخ فیضی
که از مشاهیرِ سخنورانِ دوران بود درمیانِ مستعدانِ
زمان مشهور است خصوص کتابتی که در آنجا مدح شیخ
مذکور گفته الخ (۱)

[*Ma'āsir i-Rahīmī*, A S B MSS, Account of Zuhūrī]

short of replying in the same tone.[1] This letter is also hinted at by the author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*. Badāūnī declares him to be the master of a particular style So also does Wālih Dāghistānī who calls him the author of a mode of prose-writing which was coveted by all but approached by none. The following extract throws light on a much important point as to Zuhūrī's ornate style, which, according to this authority, was spoiled by persons who failed to grasp it and to imitate it properly, and produced bad specimens which subsequently occasioned the critics' indiscriminate condemnation

Badāūnī and Wālih Dāghistānī on Zuhūrī's style of prose

[2] از فهمِ تراکیبِ بیانش هرکس را نصیب نه، از
بس الفاظ ملایم واقع شده مانوسِ همه طبائع
است لهذا داعیهٔ آن گفتگو از دلِ هرکس سر بر
میزند و اکثر بضلالت افتاده راهِ گفتگو را
غلط کرده بخیالاتِ دور از کار و سخنانِ
مزخرف افتاده می پندارند که متبع طرزِ آن
مغفور اند

---

[1] Cf.

رقعه که ظهوری بشیخ فیضی ملک الشعراء جلال الدین محمد اکبر
پادشاه نوشته بود—مشهور است گویند که فیضی جوابش
نتوانست فرستاد

[Shēr Khān 'Nusrat Jang,' Mir'āt-ul-Khiyāl, B.M MSS, Or 281, fol 53b]

[2] *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B M MSS, Add 16.729, fol. 281.

To understand the elegance of his discourse is not within the power of every one. The words are so very soft that they are agreeable to all the dispositions Consequently the desire of making such speech makes its head from the heart of every one and many having gone astray missed the path of speech, and having entered into useless thoughts and nonsense talk, think that they are the followers of that blessed soul.

Iskandar Munshī's tribute

The famous Persian historian, Iskandar Munshī, of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, observes as follows :

[1]مولانا ملك قمي و مولانا ظهوري كه نور
شعراى زمان و سخن پردازان روزگار و ممتاز اقران
بودند و در ظلّ رعايت او بسر مي بردند كتاب
نورس كه ده هزار بيت است هر كدام چهار هزار
و پانصد بيت بنام او در سلك نظم آورده ده هزار
روپيه طلا كه نهصد تومان عراقي مي شد ازو
جايزه يافتند

Maulānā Malik Qumī, and Maulānā Zuhūrī who were the lustre of the poets of the age and the eloquent of the day, and were distinguished among their contemporaries, and living under the shelter of his (Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's) patronage, having brought the book of *Nauras* in the string of poetry which con-

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[1] *'Ālam-Ārā-i-'Abbāsī*, Habīb Ganj Library (Bhīkampūr) MSS., fol. 79.

sists of 9,000 verses, each of whom contributing 4,500, got from the king a reward of 9,000 gold coins which are equal to 900 tūmāns of 'Irāq.

Views of Sā'ib and Ghālib

Sā'ib, the poet-laureate of India and Persia, pays Zuhūrī a tribute more glowing than he did to Faizī

صائب نداسسم سر و برگ ادں عرل[1]
ادں فیص ار کلام طہوری بما رسىد

Sā'ib, we did not possess the requisite material for this '*ghazal.*'
This benefit reached to us from the verses of Zuhūrī.

Ghālib, a distinguished poet of the 19th century, also acknowledges the immense benefit that he derived from Zuhūrī's poetry:

عالب ار اوراقِ ما نقشِ طہوری دمىد[2]
سرمۂ حىرت کشىم دىدہ ىدىدں دھىم

Ghālib, from our pages the colour-outlines of Zuhūrī shone,
We may apply the collyrium of wonder and give our eyes to looking.

زلہ بر دارِ طہوری باس عالب ىحب چیسب[3]
در سخں درویشي باىد نہ دکاںداري

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[1] *Dīwān-i-Sā'ib*

[2] *Kulliyāt-i-Ghālib*, edited by Nawāb Ziyauddin Ahmad Khān Bahādur, Dar us Salām Press, Delhi.

Note.—The second hemistich is borrowed from Zuhūrī's ode.

[3] Ibid

Be a crumb-eater of the table of Zuhūrī, O
Ghālib, why dost thou dispute?
In discourse one should beg, and not adorn
his own shop.

In his masnawī *'Bād-i Mukhālif,'* Ghālib goes a little further in details and touches on Zuhūrī's powers of composition as follows:

[1] خاصه روحِ روانِ معنی را
آن ظهوری جهانِ معنی را
آنکه از سرفرازیِ سخنش
آسمان سای‌ست پرچمِ علمش
طرزِ اندیشه آفریدهٔ اوست
در تنِ لفظ جان دمیدهٔ اوست
نیستِ معنی قوی ز پهلویش
خامه را فربهی ز بازویش
طرزِ تحریر را نوی ازوی
خامه از سنگِ مانوی ازوی

In particular, to the running soul of meaning
That Zuhūrī the world of meaning;
He is that when he uplifted his speech,
The flag of it touched the sky;
The mode of thought is created by him,
In the body of soul, life is infused by him;

---

[1] Ibid., p 92

The back-bone of meaning is strong by his side,
To the pen, strength is from his arm ;
To the mode of writing, newness is from him,
The pen has become *'artang-i-Mānwī'* from him.

The author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* declares that Zuhūrī came as a saviour, and by giving a new foundation to the dilapidated structure of the old style of prose and poetry saved it from total collapse :

Zuhūrī the Saviour of Prose.

[1]و عالي بناى سخن را كه بكثرت مرور و دهورِ
ايام و عدمِ كل حداثے منهدم گرديده بود
تعمير كرده پايۀ آنرا بدستيارى معمارِ فكر زرين
فرق فرقدساى گردانيد و زمزمۀ شعر و شاعرى
كه عنقا وار در قافِ بے تميزى اهلِ زمان متروى
بود . .... بسخن سنجي و نكته گذارى آشنا
ساخت و رسومِ شعر و شاعرى را در نظرِ مردم
معتبر گردانيد و بے عايلۀ تكلف و شائبۀ تصلف
از استادانِ عديم المثالِ اين فن است ... و اكثر
اهلِ عالم به شعريت و استاديِ او قايلند

[1] *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, A S B , MSS., Account of Zuhūrī.

And having rebuilt the lofty structure of *discourse, which owing to the lapse of time* and age, and for want of a master, had become dilapidated, he made its foot reach to the forehead of the Dog-star with the help of the mason of his golden thought. And the recital of verse and poetry, which, like the phoenix had been confined to the Cacasus of the ill-taste of people, was introduced by him to eloquence and subtlety ; and he made the customs of verse and versification dignified in the sight of people. And without exaggeration and least sign of prattling, he is from among the unique masters of this art, and a great many residents of the universe have implicit faith in his versification and mastery.

Āzar's and Hidāyet's half-hearted praise

The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, whose views about Persian poets of Indian fame are eagerly followed by Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet, seems very reluctant to utter a word of praise for Zuhūrī, and passes on to other poets by finishing Zuhūrī's account in half a line as follows :

[1]گویند از مستعدانِ آن دیار بوده است

They say that he belongs to the ready men of that territory (India).

---

[1] *Atashkada*, p 48

Rizā Qulī Khān merely mentions his name among the prominent contemporaries of Shāh 'Abbās. In view of the frank admissions of Sā'ib and Iskandar Munshī, half-heartedly supported by Lutf 'Alī Bēg and Rizā Qulī Khān, Zuhūrī may be placed among those fortunate few who enjoy a universal fame, and are recognised, both in India and Persia by contemporary and later critics, as masters

Besides being a poet of great distinction, he was an effective prose-writer This unusual combination of two separate virtues distinguishes him from his other contemporaries. His best work in prose is the *Seh Nasr* (or the three essays), which he wrote as a preface to a book of songs composed by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, under the title of '*Nauras.*'[1] The first and second, which are written in rich ornate style, are simply in praise of the Sultān. The first is regarded as his masterpiece, and abounds in similes and metaphors suggestively drawn from musical surroundings. It begins as follows :

His Mastery of prose and poetry an unusual combination of two separate virtues

[2]سرود سرایانِ عشرت کدهٔ قال که نورس سرا
دستانِ حال کارِ کام و زبان ساحهٔ شهدِ نوای

[1] The original is preserved in the Rāmpūr State Library from which a copy, by special permission of H H the Nawāb, has been made by the author

[2] *Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūrī*, p 1, Rizvi Press, Lucknow, 1259 A.H.
Note. -A complete text of the *Seh Nasr* (edited from a few rare manuscript copies) together with an English translation appears at the end [*vide* Appendices (A), (B) and (C)]

صانعی عذب البیان اند که چاشنی نغمهای
شکرین در رگ و پی نی دوانیده و خوش نفسان
چمن نشاط که نه بسط بساط انبساط پرداخته
زلال حمد خالقی رطب اللسان اند که گل
ترانهای تر از شاخسار صوت و صدا دمانیده '
محمل حجازیانش بصدای نال هندیان زنگله
بند و زخم جگر عراقیانش نمک تار طنبور ترکان
در شکرخند. ...الخ

The songsters of the pleasure-house of speech (the learned) that have accomplished the work of the palate and tongue (given good relish to their appetite) with the fresh fruit of Divine ecstasy, are sweet-voiced with the honey of praise for such an Artist as has caused the taste of sweet notes to run into the veins and fibres of the reed ; and the gay-hearted denizens of the garden of mirth (poets) that have busied themselves in spreading the carpet of joy, are sweet-tongued with the fresh water of the praise of a Creator Who has grown flowers of fragrant tunes on the twigs of sound and echo (given melody to human voice). The camel of the zeal of His Hejazis (lovers) is bound with the bells at the sound of the Indian music (gets ready to dance), and the wound of His 'Irāqī's

heart sweetly smiles by the salt of the string of the Turks' tambour.

The third has a historical value besides, and enumerates the men of skill at the court, with brief notices of their respective merits All these three prose works are considered in India as models of ornate prose, and, though they have been immensely copied by subsequent aspirants, remain still unapproached. Among his poetical works the following are noteworthy .

Important poetical works

(i) *Sāqī Nāma*, of which printed copies are available, was written in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. It is stated that the Shāh sent him a reward of several elephants loaded with gold, silver, and other presents He was sitting in a coffee-house when this wealth was brought to him. On the messengers' demanding a receipt, he wrote on a slip of paper the following four words : " تسلیم کردند، تسلیم کردم " (they surrendered, I surrendered), and in their presence distributed all that wealth among the poor and the needy.

(ii) *Kulliyāt* (Rāmpūr State Library MSS.), extending over 417 folios of large foolscap size, neatly written in close elegant '*nasta'līq*' It is dated 1074 A.H., and is divided into sections as follows :

(*a*) *Qasīda*.

(b) *Masnawī*; *Tarjī'-band* (some in praise of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great); and Mutāi'ba.

(c) *Rubā'ī*, covering 50 folios

At the end of the manuscript appears the famous letter of Zuhūrī to Faizī.[1]

Besides being a poet and a prose-writer, he was an adept in the art of calligraphy, and is said to have made repeated copies of *Rauzat-us-Safā* which brought him in a decent living in Persia. Among the kinds of poetry, he is chiefly noted for '*masnawī*' and in prose for his ornate diction.

Peculiarities of style (i) Imagination

In this branch he goes ahead of all his contemporaries, and both his prose and poetry are full of illustrations of the same. Ideas that had been repeatedly and successfully expressed before, appear under his pen in an altogether new form and a piquant robe of words. Some instances are quoted below. In the following he describes the comforts and joys of the newly-built city of Bījāpūr:

[2] کرا کثیرِ سرور و سور سازند

رخاکِ پاکِ بیجاپور سازند

---

[1] It first appeared in the collection of Faizī's letters by Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī. The one produced by 'Abdurrazzāq Sūrtī in his '*Muqaddimāt-i-Zuhūrī*' printed at Lucknow, is defective and full of typographical errors.

[2] *Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 10.

If they make the elixir of mirth and pleasure,
They make it from the holy dust of Bijāpūr.

The following is in praise of the king's book *Nauras* :

[1]فضای دیدن بصفحاتس گلشن و سواد
خواندن به بیاضش روشن خضر تشنه لب
سرابی ادا مسیحا مردهٔ جان بخشی هوا
کشد صد داستان هر صفحه در لب
ورق را گر زنند انگشت بر لب

The landscape of sight is a flower-garden from its pages, and the blunt aptitude for reading is brightened by its whiteness *Khizr* is thirsty for the moisture of its style , the *Messiah* dies for its life-giving breath.

If we touch the edge of a leaf with the finger,
Every page will begin to tell a hundred tales.

In the following he depicts the king's power of painting :

[2]چکد چون خامه بردارد بادشا
عطارد در دواتش قطره آسا
اگر بلبل کشد آواز بشنو
دهد آواز را پرواز بشنو

[1] Ibid., pp. 16 and 18
[2] Ibid., p 12.

When he takes up his pen for composition,
Mercury trickles into his inkpot like a drop ;
If he draws the picture of a nightingale,
hear its sound,
Hark, he gives flight to sound (he can depict
sound itself)

A simple and ordinary fact is often described by him with such force that it cannot but arrest one's attention and rouse his curiosity. The following is a good instance wherein he wants to say that the king plays on the guitar well :

(ii) Description

[1] به نبض گیری تار طنبور به علاج علل
نهادان در مسیحائی

He is Christ-like in the treatment of the incurable by feeling the pulse of the string of his tambour (the sickly are cured by listening to the sound of his musical instrument)

Under this head falls also his favourite figure "حسن تعلیل" which he describes with a charm peculiar to himself One instance is quoted below :

[2] به نوفیر احارهٔ نفایس صدف را کف احابت
بر از گوهر تاثیر :

---

[1] Ibid., p. 11
[2] Ibid , p 7

With the surplus income accruing from the contract of prayer for him the palm of the oyster is full of the pearl of efficacy (the oyster gets a pearl when it opens its hands to pray for him and not otherwise).

In his '*masnawi*' he has depicted scenes and described events with wonderful accuracy and real touch. One instance is as follows, wherein he describes the spring in the garden:

[1] هوا بسته در سینهٔ گل دهان
چو از حسنِ گل نکهه بگشاد باد

وداعِ چمن کرده پژمردگی
هوا را ز دم ریخت افسردگی

بهار است کو ساقیِ جامعرا
که آمد لطافت بسرِ هوا

بهار است نرگس قدح برگرفت
بروی چمن لاله ساغر گرفت

کند کودکِ غنچه تا خوابِ ناز
صبا مهد جنبان بدستِ نیاز

---

[1] *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūri*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS.

(iii) Illustration.

This he uses chiefly in his poetry to make the force of his argument felt more strongly He advances a theory, often in the shape of giving some moral advice, in the first hemistich, and tries to prove its utility by a concrete example in the second. This is chiefly the domain of Sā'di but it will be observed that Zuhūrī also, to a great extent, followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, and succeeded in making his argument impressive as a moral teacher. The following instances are noteworthy ·

[1] خموشی نفعها دارد سخن پرداز می داند
نخستین اینکه ساکت هیچگه ملزم نمی گردد
چه سود از گریهٔ شبها شگفتن نیست در صبحم
گلِ پژمرده هرگز تازه از شبنم نمی گردد

Silence has benefits which the orator knows,
The first is that a silent person is nowhere brought to book ,
What is the use of shedding tears at night ? my morn is devoid of blossom,
The faded rose ne'er becomes fresh from the dew

[2] سعي فرمای که سیماب شوی از تب شوق
که اگر کشته شوی قدرِ تو افزون گردد

---

[1] *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p 249.

[2] Ibid., p. 319

Strive that thou shouldst become quick-silver
from the heat of love,
So that if thou be killed thy value be increased.

After Zuhūri, the above style was followed by Sā'ib whose poetry was very much appreciated by Shāh Jahān and Shāh 'Ābbās II Few poets have approached Zuhūri in the use of this figure of speech. The lines quoted on pp. 194,198, and 199, may serve as illustrations of the same.

(iv) Homogeneity

Under this head he is known for making deviations from the established trend of thought, and introducing into it a new element and spirit which is offensive to modern taste, and is considered an endeavour in the wrong direction. He went a little too far, and instead of making his similes and channel of thought simpler, he made them more intricate, though not without charm and natural touch. Some instances are as follows :

(v) Simile and Metaphor

[1] اگر مهتاب نخ کتانے بگسلد ماه نشانه
خور کلف است -

If the moon breaks a thread of linen, it
receives a blow which is shown by its spot.

In the above extract the spot on the face of the moon is compared with the mark of a blow.

---

[1] *Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūri*, p. 30

[1]تا از کاسهٔ طنبورِ خورشید تارِ شعاعی در
دمیدن است......... و تا بر قانونِ سخن تارِ
نفس نواختهٔ مضرابِ زبان است . . . .

Till as long as from the goblet of the tambour of the sun the wires of the rays shine out and till on the guitar of speech the chord of human breath is played by the plectrum of the tongue.

Here the *sun* is compared with a guitar, and *speech* with a musical instrument, and *breaths* with the wires, and the *tongue* with a plectrum.

[2]به نمِ فوارهٔ خامه چه بنفشه زارها رسانیده

With the moisture of the fountain of his pen,
what beds of violets he has grown !

In the above the flowing ink of the pen is compared with a fountain, and the words it has produced with a bed of violets.

[3]و تاردانِ سازش بر دوشِ طرهٔ مرغوله مویان

And the wire-box of his musical instrument is on the shoulder of the tresses of the curly-haired.

This is a very peculiar and romantic simile. The curly locks of the beloveds are supposed to be the king's wire-chest which they are carrying on their shoulders.

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[1] Ibid., p 28
[2] Ibid , p 78.
[3] Ibid., p 11

فلك از ماه و خور نواله خورِ خوانِ نوال[1]

The sky eats the morsel of the sun and the moon from the tray of his hospitality.

Here the sun and the moon are compared to morsels served on the king's table, which the sky is supposed to eat as the king's guest.

Space does not allow to consider similar other peculiarities which stand out in his composition.

Specimens of his '*ghazal*'

His '*ghazal*' is usually the work of simple imagination, and at times extremely flowing and melodious. Some specimens are as follows :

ز گل عار دارد گریبانِ ما[2]
در آویخت خار بدامانِ ما
نسیمِ بهارِ محبت وزید
سمن می فشاند مغیلانِ ما
در آئینهٔ جگرِ عشق کرد
جلا پروری چشمِ حیرانِ ما
ز آسیبِ مرهم برون آمدیم
نهان ماندہ زخمِ نمایانِ ما
ظهوری دگر راهزن زلف کیست
که زنار می بندد ایمانِ ما

[1] Ibid , p 33.

[2] *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS

Note —The first two are quoted from the Rāmpūr codex, and are not available in the printed editions.

وله

[1] براهِ غمت پا ز سر ساختم
ز هر موی صد دال و پر ساختم

ندارم با آنکه پروای سر
برای تو با دردِ سر ساختم

دل از آفتِ مرهم آسوده شد
که زخمِ تو حرزِ جگر ساختم

خوشت باد ای تلخکامی ز تو
که ما زهرِ خود را شکر ساختم

همان تیره بختم کز تیرِ آه
شبِ غم سراسر سحر ساختم

چه خوش میزند غوطه ایمان بخون
بلی زهد و تقوی سپر ساختم

غزالی بصحرای جان میگذشت
کمندی ز تارِ نظر ساختم

ظهوری ازین توبه درهم مباش
که با ساقیِ عشوه‌گر ساختم

---

[1] Ibid

وله

[1]جان مردهٔ دردے که پذیرای دوا نیست
زخمے که بمرهم شود آلودهٔ رفا نیست

از ذره اگر کمترم از گرم روانم
خورشید درین راه چو من سوخته پا نیست

باد نفس بلبلش افروخته دارد
دامن زنی آتش گل کار صبا نیست

ای کرده ادا سجدهٔ ابروی تو محراب
یکقدر نمازیکه بیاد تو قضا نیست

گردیده گره حسرت تو در دل سنبل
روزیکه زموے تو صبا عقده کشا نیست

در بوتهٔ خواری بگدازند عزیزان
دشنام شنیدن ز لب خلق دعا نیست

ای چرخ جفاهای تو شد صرف ظهوری
رحمے که غلط کردهٔ احوال وفا نیست

وله

[2]جنبش مژگان دلم را بار در نشتر گرفت
زخم آغوشی کشود و سینه را در بر گرفت

---

[1] *Diwān-i-Ẓuhūri*, p 45
[2] Ibid, p 180.

کام را بتعریفِ شیرین لعل در شکر نشاند
مغز را سودای مشکین طرۀ در عنبر گرفت
اشک در حسب و کنارم طعنه بر احمر شمرد
زهر در کام و زبانم نکته بر شکر گرفت
آتشے بال و پرِ پروانۀ جانرا نواخت
درِ سمندِ شعلها از تاب خاکستر گرفت
بر کنارے دل بیک پیمانه مست افتاده بود
درمیانِ بیخودی پیمانۀ دیگر گرفت

His *masnawi* unlike his *ghazal* combines with the imaginative, the descriptive qualities, and is considered best in his composition Some specimens are as follows. Lines in praise of the cup-bearer .

'Masnawī'

چه گویم که ساقي چها مي کند[1]
بناز و کرشمه بلا مي کند
بهر عشوۀ نرگسِ پر فسن
نهد حورِ صد توبه بر گردنش
ز مژگاں اگر تار خنجر کشد
سگافِ دل از سینه سر بر زند
بر آئینِ جم حضرت مے فروش
بکف جام از بهرِ اربابِ هوش

---

[1] *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rampūr State Library MSS

زند گر ز اعجازش انکار دم

بدستش دهد آب و آتش بهم

The following is in praise of *spring*, a topic which may be said to be almost exhausted, being so consistently taken up by almost each and every poet of Persian language. Nevertheless his treatment has a distinct charm all its own :

[1] بهارست بی می حرامست زیست

بر احوالِ زهاد باید گریست

بهارست نرگس قدح برگرفت

بروی چمن لاله ساغر گرفت

بهارست رختِ ورع کن گرو

مئے کہنہ دارد شگون سالِ نو

بهارست بلبل برآورده جوش

بخندند مینای قلقل فروش

بهارست کو ساقیِ جانفزا

که آمد لطافت بسرِ هوا

صبا دم زد از معجزِ عیسوی

جهانِ کهن را مبارک نوی

---

[1] Ibid.

عروسِ چمن گسب رسكِ بهشت
بمشاطگي آمد اُردی بهشب

وداعِ چمن کرد پرمردگي
هوا را ز دم ربحب افسردگي

هوا سبه در سبۀ گل بهاد
چو ار حسبِ گل بکمه بکساد باد

کند کودکِ عبجه با هوابِ بار
صبا مهد حباں بدسبِ بهار

مگر عرمِ مبخانه دارد چمں
که برکرده داماں و حبب ار سمں

There seems nothing very striking in his *qasīda*-writing except a considerable flow which is apparently due to his great command of the language 'Urfī, his contemporary, is superior to him in this branch. Some specimens are as follows

'Qasīda'

In praise of the Khān-i-Khānān .

زهے[1] رسوبِ رحب دیده وقیِ حیرانی
بداعِ مهرو وفای بو سبه ارزاني

بمك کمار کس ای دیده کشتیِ حود را
که حوس رد رحگر گربه های طوفانی

[1] *Mu'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, A S.B MSS , Account of Zuhūrī

اسیرِ هنجرِ رنگدنِ عمرهات گردم
نهاده هر طرفی صد هزار قربانی
بکبود حوس بر آورده در سحر هوسم
ز سوقِ خاكِ كفِ پاى مىرزا خانی
مروده رىىهٔ دیگر خطابِ خانی را
چو سد ز بخت مخاطب بخانِ خانانی
به اسطامِ جهان نازم از عدالت کسب
که جمع در سکنِ طره سد پرشانی

In praise of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh

لذتِ نامِ تو از کام دماند سکّر[1]
نکهتِ موی تو بر مغز فساند عنبر
عشق را خارِ رهِ کعبهٔ کوىت در پای
حسن را لالهٔ بستانِ جمالت بر سر
خواریِ عشق ترا عرب دایم لازم
نخلِ اندوه ترا عربِ جاوید ثمر
نافهٔ حلقهٔ گیسویِ تو در دامنِ شام
سمنِ گلشنِ رخسارِ تو در جیبِ سحر

[1] *Kulliyāt-i-Ẓuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS

In his *rubā'ī* he generally expresses his ideas clearly and lucidly. His *rubā'iyāt*, as preserved in the Rāmpūr collections, cover full 100 pages and are written on different topics. Some specimens are quoted below

'Rubā'ī'

In praise of God and the Prophet:

یا رب ز عدم برون کشیدی همه را[1]
محتاج بفضل خویش دیدی همه را
کارِ همه را طفیل خود خواهد ساخت
آنکس که طفیلش آفریدی همه را

In supplication to God

یا رب نظری که چشم جان باز کنم[2]
یارب جگری که رزم خود ساز کنم
یا رب عشقی که شور در ملک نهم
یارب حسنی که بر جهان ناز کنم

In praise of the chief of the Martyrs, Imām Husain:

هر دل که بحسرت بےعبا خواهد بود[3]
از دوستیِ آل عبا خواهد بود
گلگونهٔ سرخ رویِ شاهدِ عشق
از خونِ شهیدِ کربلا خواهد بود

---

[1] Ibid
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid

In praise of Faizi's commentary of the Qur'ān :

[1] ای حیرهٔ بورِ صحف چشم سناحب
دابِ بو رقم در علمِ وهم گداحب
بدانه بو کشف میموانی بہر ورد
بے بعطه بو حرف مسوانی بہرداحب

Lines addressed to the beloved :

[2] با فکرِ دلِ نگار مي ساند کرد
با کسمم احسار مي ساند کرد
العصه ادرس بسس ندارم طاقب
یك کار ادرس دو کار مي ساند کرد

His *tarji'-band* and *mutā'iba* are melodious like his *ghazal*, and were written, as declared by himself, in close imitation of Sa'di and other great poets of Persia. One instance of the former, in praise of Shāh 'Abbās, is already quoted on p. 184 supra Another instance is as follows :

'*Tarji'-band* and '*mutā'iba*'

In praise of Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh .

[3] مژده ای دل که جاں نکار آمد
در رهے لائقِ نثار آمد

---

[1] *Ibid*

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid

روزگارِ جفاکشان خوش باد

مطهرِ لطفِ کردگار آمد

دلِ صحرا چه تنگ خواهد بود

جلوهٔ شهرِ شهریار آمد

رفت ایامِ غصهٔ پنهان

نوبتِ عیش آشکار آمد

داروی دردِ اشتیاق رسید

مرهمِ زخمِ انتظار آمد

جهل را رونق و رواج نماند

علم را قدر و اعتبار آمد

سرِ طالع بپای رخنه نبود

ملک را معدلت حصار آمد

ایمن اند اهلِ روزگار از بیم

گشته عالم مقامِ ابراهیم

The following is an instance of his *mutā'iba* (or pleasantry):

[1]بگرمي دی یکي ز اهلِ خراسان

گرو برده از ندیمانِ سمرقند

کمندِ کنگرِ نعل از نفس تافت

بانداز دروغ راست مانند

---

[1] Ibid.

ز پاسنگِ سر ا ر وی گزا مس
سنگ گردند لختِ کوهِ الوند
نه سرکس سرِ نعوری که بوده س
فگند و صند نصدنعی نعگند
سر ده در لاف با فی ده سب و بنائي
زهرها دسب درهم مهملے چند
سخِ کدس اگر نگسست گاهے
دسوگندِ درسي کرده بدوند

Zuhūrī has not made so frequent use of philosophical terms in his poetry as 'Urfī has done. The former's attempts are mostly confined to make his verses melodious and his prose ornate by using appropriate and suggestive words unlike the latter whose attention is directed more to convey some thought than attend to tender phraseology and suggestive similes. Zuhūrī's powers as a descriptive poet are enormous. In his *masnawī* he has described scenes and phases of common life with considerable success While 'Urfī in his *masnawī* falls short of this virtue and does not seem to possess gifts of description like his more fortunate contemporary. In *ghazal* it may be noted that Zuhūrī's characteristic feature is the simplicity of diction combined with natural flow which makes his poetry melodious and musical 'Urfī on the other hand is not so simple but requires some thinking to

Contrast between Zuhūrī and 'Urfī

grasp his meaning Nazīrī in this branch beats all his contemporaries, and combines the requisite gracefulness of word and meaning In *qasīda* 'Urfī occupies a higher place, and in fact no other poet from among his contemporaries in India or Persia can claim to be his rival He fully makes up for his deficiency of power of description and gives us a connected and full account of whatever he describes with considerable success. His chief feature is the sublimity of thought to which Zuhūrī has not approached. In *rubā'ī* both have done well, but Zuhūrī in quantity takes the precedence In prose 'Urfī has nothing conspicuous to compare with Zuhūrī The chief character of the latter's prose is his figurative style which in those days was considered a merit of writing [1]

To sum up the whole, Zuhūrī based his work more on imagination and created subtleties by giving a figurative touch to his composition He was a versatile writer, and did well both in prose and poetry. His style, unlike that of 'Urfī, drew the attention of many a distinguished contemporary and later poet who felt proud to acknowledge inspiration from his poetry.[2]

Certain parallel odes of 'Urfī and Zuhūrī have been quoted on pp 174, 175 and 176 supra The following is a very significant parallel of the oaths taken by both in almost the same strain .

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[1] Some opinions on this point have been quoted on pp 192, 194 and 196 supra

[2] Cf Sā ib, his contemporary, and Ghālib a later poet, quoted on pp. 190 and 191 supra

'Urfi

[1] نه آبروی قناعت نه طلب خواهش
نه کامرانی فرصت نه دولت دیدار
نه عیش نالهٔ چنگی به درد نالهٔ من
نه فیض سرمهٔ مکی نه گرد کوچهٔ یار
نه خاک جبهه که باد ثروت عابد ازوست
نه تار سبحه که صوفی ازوست در زنار
نه دعوی لب عابد که دوخت دلق مراد
نه آتش دل عاشق که سوخت لوح مزار
نه تار حسن که بندد نقاب در خلوت
نه راز عشق که آید برهنه در بازار
نه گرم چشمی من در نظارهٔ معنی
نه شرم گمشی من در نظارهٔ اشعار

Zuhūrī

[2] نه عز قناعت نه ذلّ طمع
نه ناموس رندی نه ننگ ورع
نه افغان چنگ و خروش رباب
نه شور کباب و نه ساز شراب
نه تسبیح خوانان میخانه گرد
نگلون سرشکان رخسارهٔ زرد
نه جان بازی مرد میدان عشق
نه عطاری مشک دکان عشق
نه حسن جهان سوز آتش مزاج
نه عشق تهیدست بی احتیاج
نه چشمکه آید نگاهی ازو
نه آن دل که برخیزد آهی ازو

نه دست همت من کر کنار گوشه گرفت
ر ننگ آنکه ندرنوره آشنا ست کنار
نه حشم او که همش حلم اوست سعله نشان
نه کمهه او که همس علم اوست آئمنه دار
نه سنبلے که نگلزار حسن مي رود
نه از میانهٔ گلشن نه گوشهٔ گلزار
نه نگما ی گردناں نه وسعت داممن
نه حاکساری کمس و نه نخوت د سمار

نه دستے که ىند قبائے کشاد
نه مستے که بر حاك پائے فتاد
نه حوے که آتش نعالم زند
نه کوئے که از کربلا دم زند
نه ندے که طوبی عذار اروست
نه چسمے که در سهر عارب اروست
نه بے رحمي چاره سار کسے
نه عصر طهوري نه دار کسے

[1] *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS
[2] *Qasā'id-i-'Urfī*, pp 20—22.

At the end of his third prose, while he was still writing it, he declares himself then to be in the seventieth year,[1] thus establishing the fact that he lived up to an advanced age According to Badāūnī, he was murdered by some malicious people in Deccan. The year of his death according to most biographers is 1025 A. H. He was a contented sort of man, and did not care much for monetary gains. He was persistently invited by Faizī and the Khān-i-Khānān to come to the Mughal capital, but he did not leave Deccan in spite of these persuasions. Also, the easy way in which he distributed the wealth sent him by Burhān Nizām Shāh, shows the generosity of his nature It is stated that the Khān-i-Khānān, after wresting the kingdom of Ahmadnagar from Burhān Nizām Shāh, showed Zuhūrī great kindness and asked him to accompany him to Āgra, but the former, while acknowledging in a *qasīda* the graciousness of the latter, begged for permission to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, in spite of the fact that he had already made the necessary pilgrimage. The Khān-i-Khānān could not refuse such a request, and provided him with provisions. But on return of the Khān-i-Khānān to Āgra, Zuhūrī through the stress of circumstances, postponed his intended pilgrimage and attached

His age, death, and character

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[1] Cf

هر چند که در چمنِ عمر هفتاد سال نهالِ طبیعت شگوفه بر اقفالی کرده الخ

[*Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūrī*, pp 81 and 82.]

Tulsi Das the famous poet of Hindi flourished at Benares

himself to the court of Bījāpūr where he breathed his last.

He was a celebrated Hindī poet[1] and contributed much to the growth of Urdū His famous poem, the Rāmāyana, which is different from that of Vālmīki, was written in Hindī. The subject is the adoration of Rāma who is viewed by the poet as the supreme God. It is a work which is revered by millions of Hindūs as a religious book and its morality and expression directly appeal to the heart. He was the son of some poor Brāhman who is said to have forsaken the child in his very infancy due to the whim of his having been born under certain evil influences He was picked up by a kind-hearted Sādhū who brought him up with all the care and affection of a father. Having lived for some years in Bundēlkhand, he finally settled at Benāres, the home of religious learning, where he brought his great task, the Rāmāyana, to a finish. Although Abul Fazl has not mentioned his name in the list of the court poets of Akbar (which seems due to the poet's not being in the service of the

Tulsī Dās his life and works

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[1] Sir George Grierson has noticed this poet in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India,' Vol II (Chapter on Vernacular Literature), and some of his articles appear in the "Indian Antiquary," Vol XXII Also, an account is given by Sir R. G Bhandārkar in his "Vaishnavism Saivism," pp 74—76 (in Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie, etc, Strassburg, 1913) I am indebted to Professor Rapson for this information

emperor)[1] he was in a way connected with the Mughal court, being patronized by the Khān-i-Khānān. Abul Fazl has, on the other hand, mentioned Sūr Dās, another equally important Hindī poet, under musicians, only because he was directly connected with the court. Similarly other notable persons like Tān Sēn, Rām Dās Kalāwant, Miyān Lāl and Rang Sēn, who were at the court, have not been omitted. The part played by Ṭulsī Dās in the formation and growth of modern Urdū is considerable, and is described in Chapter V which deals with the progress of Urdū in the reign of Akbar. He died at the ripe age of 91 towards the close of 1033 A.H. on the banks of the Ganges at Benāres. The following suggestive verse, composed by a later Hindī poet, gives the date of his demise :

سمبت سولہ سواسي ' اسي گنگ کے تمر
ساون شوکلا سنمي ' تلسي تجيو شرير

The one shining orb in the horizon of literary patronage at the Mughal court and in the whole empire of Asia is the dazzling personality of the *Khān-i-Khānān* who deserves a foremost place as supporter of Persian art and literature among the contemporary rulers of Persia, India, Central Asia, and Turkey. Akbar

'Abdurrahīm *Khān-i-Khānān* greatest patron of Persian poetry in the East

[1] Cf. The reason suggested by Vincent Smith

"Although the poet numbered among his friends and admirers both Raja Mān Singh of Amber, and the Khān-i-Khānān (Mīrza 'Abdurrahīm), the two most power-

Abdurrahim Khān-i-Khanān

(Delhi Museum of Archaeology, I. D. A. C. D. 1911)

among the Asiastic monarchs was undoubtedly eminent but his court-noble 'Abdurrahīm *Khān-i-Khānān* was pre-eminent. His greatness as a patron may well be realised by the compliments of Persian poets who sang his praises at the Persian court and in the face of the Shāh himself. A Persian poet Rasmi Qalandar in a very significant poem enumerates his colleagues who went over to India and thrived under the liberal patronage of the *Khān-i-Khānān*

Persia's great tribute

ز یمنِ مدحِ تو آں نکته سنج شیرازی
رسد صیتِ کلامش به روم از خاور

---

ful nobles of Akbar's later years, he does not appear ever to have been brought to the notice of either the Emperor or Abul Fazl Probably the explanation may be that the two nobles named did not become acquainted with the poet until after the death of Akbar in 1605 " [Akbar, the Great Mogul, pp. 417-418]

It is significant that a person of that name has been mentioned by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad among the friends and followers of the Khān-i-Khānān, when he was sent by the Emperor to Gujarāt in 991 A H Cf

میرزا خان ولد بیرم خان با جاگیرداران صوبه اجمیر. . و دیگر سادات بارهه و رای درگاه. ... و رامچندر و اودے سنگهه پسران روپسی و سنگو راجپوت و تسی داس و رای سنگهه و دیگر مردم که تفصیل آن دراز است الخ (*Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*, p 367)

[1] This is quoted by Shiblī, and Browne The last line has been omitted by both, and is given by Mīrza Asad Beg Turkmān, in his *Bayāz*.

نظیرِ نادره ز مدحِ تو آشنا گردند
چو روی خوب که نابد ز ماشطه زیور

ز فیضِ نامِ تو فیضی گرفت چون خسرو
به تیغِ هندیِ اقلیمِ سخن را یکسر

ز ریزه خواریِ خوانِ نظیریِ شاعر
رسیده است بجائے که شاعرانِ دگر

کشند دهرِ مدیحش قصیدهٔ ایسا
که خونِ رشک چکد از دلِ سخن پرور

سوادِ شعرِ سکینی چو کحلِ اصفاهان
به تحفه سوی خراسان برند اهلِ نظر

ز مدحتِ تو حبابی حبابِ دیگر یافت
ولے معویِ طبعِ عَرَضْ بود جوهر

حدیثِ نوعی و کفوی نهان چه سازم من
چو زنده اند بمدحِ تو تا دمِ محشر

ز نعمتِ دوبه نوعی رسید آن مایه
که یافت مرزِ معری ز نعمتِ سکر

ز گلشنِ املش صد چمن گلِ امید
شگفت تا که بمدحِ تو شد زبان آور

Through the boon of thy praise that weigher of subtle points—native of Shirāz '(Urfi),
The fame of his poetry reached to Rūm from the East,
He became acquainted with a new style through praising thee,
As a handsome face gains ornament from the tire-woman;
From the bounty of thy name Faizi captured like Khusrau
The seven climes with the Indian sword;
Through eating crumbs at thy table, Naziri the poet
Has attained a position that other poets
Write each in praise of him a *qasida* so beautiful
That the blood of envy drips from the heart of an eloquent poet;
The ink of the verse of Shakibi, like the collyrium of Isfahān,
The people of sight carry as a present towards Khurāsān;
From thy praise Hayāti got a second life,
Ay, the essence is the strengthener of the accident,
What should I narrate the tale of Nau'i and Kufwi;
Since they live through thy praise till the morn of Resurrection;

From thy generosity to Nau'i came that strength,
Which Mir Mu'izzi received from the boon of Sanjar;
From the rose-tree of his hope a hundred gardens of the roses of desire
Blossomed, so that he could open his tongue in thy praise

Of the sundry compliments paid to him by other Persian poets of the Safawi court the one by Kausari[1] is the most important. It is a daring challenge to Shāh 'Abbās, in which the poet openly declares that he expects no literary patronage in Persia, and that he would send his poems to that learned and munificent patron of Persian poetry in India the *Khān-i-Khānān*. The principal lines are reproduced here as follows .

[2] که در ایران کسی ماند بدیدار
که باشد حسنِ معنی را خریدار
در ایران تلخ گشته کامِ جانم
ببابد شد سوی هندوستانم
چو قطره جانبِ عمان فرستم
متاعِ خود بهندستان فرستم

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[1] *Vide* Part II, supra, p 168

[2] Further verses have been quoted on pp 168-169, Part II

که نبود در سخن دانانِ دوران
خریدارِ سخن جز خانخانان

That in Persia no one comes within sight,
Who is a customer of the commodity of meaning;
In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter,
Go I ought towards Hindūstān,
Like a drop towards the ocean I may send,
I may send my commodity to India;
For there is not among the learned of the age,
The customer of speech except the *Khān-i-Khānān*.

His merits as a poet.

As a poet of Persian language he excelled many professional poets at the court, and wrote fluently under the pen-name '*Rahīm*.' Abul Fazl writes that he was a versatile man and composed verses in Persian, Arabic, Turkī, Sanskrit, and Hindī He was a friend of Tulsī Dās and encouraged and admired his Hindī poetry. At the death of his father (Bairam Khān) he was four years old, and was brought up under the fostering care of Akbar who provided him with the best education that could be had. He did signal services to Akbar, and distinguished himself like his late father on the battlefield. In the year 991 A.H. he was put in command of the army sent against Sultān Muzaffar Gujarātī, and succeeded in conquering Gujarāt, which earned him the proud title of his

father, the "*Khān-i-Khānān*."[1] He translated the '*Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*' from Turkī into Persian, and was well-versed in Muslim history. After Akbar's death

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[1] *Tabaqāt-i-'Akbarī*, p 358

Note —There were no regular institutions for military education The experience gained in practical warfares and by watching the tactics of fighting units and remaining with them was the only school of military training. It is also to be noticed that the titles *atālīq*, *munshī* and *malik-ush-shu'ārā*, at the court of the Mughal sovereigns were decorations held not merely by virtue of literary ability, but their holders were practical officers commanding armies and leading them successfully in battles against veteran foes Faizi and Abul Fazl are further instances of same This study is peculiarly interesting and throws a new light on this age in which pen-men, Mullās, and Sūfīs played the part of statesmen and administrators who could successfully handle the foreign policy of the State The influence that the Sūfīs exercised in this connection is enormous From the reign of Timūr down to the death of Aurangzeb, there is not a single period in which the Sūfīs did not act as peace-makers or plenipotentiaries between the two fighting powers Cf. the influence of Shaikh Zainuddīn Abū Bakr on Timūr in his aggressive and peaceful policy [*Vide Zafar Nāma* and *Tuzuk-i-Timūrī*] Also, cf Khwaja Ahrār's influence in stopping a terrible war that had begun among the three great kings of Central Asia Unus Khān, 'Umar Shaikh, and Sultān Ahmad

خان در مرغینان بود که حضرت قطب دایرهٔ ارشاد ... به مرغینان آمدند
که میان خان و عمر شیخ مرزا و سلطان احمد آشتی دهند چون این
خبر در سلاطین ثلثه رسید همه جاهای خود توقف کردند چون حضرت
ایشان رسیدند در لشکر میرزا سلطان احمد نزول فرمودند و کس پیش

he served under Jahāngīr for about twenty years, and died in 1036 A.H., aged 71 years and some months. He was buried in Delhī near the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliyā. His memory will live so long as Persian poetry survives in India. His poetic taste and powers have been described by many a contemporary historian other than Abul Fazl, like Badāūnī, 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, who declare that he was a refuge of the learned, and poets like 'Urfī and Nazīrī were benefited by his criticism. Shiblī Nu'mānī has quoted two similar odes of Nazīrī and the Khān-i-Khānān, which are reproduced here by way of specimen and contrast :

خان وعمر شیخ میرزا فرستادند متضمن صلح و نفس مبارک ایشان را هیچ
کس نمی توانست رد کرد

[*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, B M MSS Or 157, foll 66b & 77b]

Also, cf Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliārī's coming to Bābur as special messenger of Rahīm Dād, one of Bābur's staunch enemies, to secure amnesty for him [*Vide* supra p]

Also, cf Shaikh Khalīl, a holy *darwīsh*, was sent by Humāyūn to Shēr Khān to settle peace terms

تا آنکه مصلحت دیدند که با شیر خان بصلح پیش آیند و مصالحة نمایند بنا
بر این مصلحت مشیخت مآب سلالة المشایخ شیخ خلیل از اولاد قطب
الاقطاب شیخ الاسلام شیخ فرید شکر گنج را جهت آشتی پیش شیر خان فرستادند

[*Tazkirāt-ul-Wāqi'āt*, B M MSS Add. 16,711, fol 22a.]

Shiblī's comparison of the Khān-i-Khānān's ode with Nazīrī's

Khān-i-Khānān	Nazīrī
شمارِ شوق ندانسته ام که تا چند ست[1]	[2] بحرفِ اهلِ غرض قرب و بعدِ ما بند ست
جز این قدر که دلم سخت آرزومند ست	دلِ شکستهٔ ما را هزار پیوند ست
به کیشِ صدق و صفا حرفِ عهد بیکار ست	ازان دمم که بحسرت فگندهٔ دیدنِ او
نگاهِ اهلِ محبت تمام سوگند ست	نگه بگوشهٔ چشمم هنوز در بند ست
نه دام دانم و نه دانه اینقدر دانم	نظر دلیر نشد تا مژه نه پس آمد
که پای تا بسرش هرچه هست در بند ست	حجاب اگر بر کاه ست کوهِ الوند ست
مرا فروخت محبت ولی ندانستم	درازدستیِ حسنِ که گل بچشمم ریخت
که مشتری چه کس ست و بهای من چند ست	که تا بدامنم از جیب در شکر خند ست
ادای حقِ محبت عنایتی ست ز دوست	نه کینه جوئیِ افلاک عشق می نازم
وگرنه خاطرِ عاشق بهیچ خرسند ست	که هر که دشمنِ ما شد به دوست مانند ست
ازان خوشم به سخنهای دلکشِ تو رحیم	نظیری از تو بیان کردن ست لب بگشای
که اندکی به اداهای عشق مانند ست	بدین قدر که بگوئی نمیر خرسند ست

[1] *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, Vol III, p. 14.

[2] Ibid

He was also a competent scholar of Sanskrit, and a most popular poet of Hindī, whose verses directly appealed to the hearts of the Hindūs and the Muslims alike. His contributions to Urdū, like those of his two colleagues, Tulsī Dās and Sūr Dās, are of immense magnitude, and will be discussed in Chapter V, which deals with the growth of Urdū language under Akbar.

CHAPTER III

(B) Historians

It has been said of the great historian Abul Fazl that the monarchs of Asia stood more in awe of his pen than the sword of Akbar. He was the son of Shaikh Mubārak, one of the greatest scholars of the age, and younger brother of Faizī, the poet-laureate of Hindūstān.[1] He is famous as a historian but insufficiently known as a politician. The production of the Akbar Nāma is his greatest *tour de force* as a statesman, for behind it was a definite political motive. The first thing that strikes the reader in his style is not so much the outer phase of his grand phraseology in which he indulges, as the inner meaning which his allegorical narrative embodies. His ornate style serves to cover his political intentions as a practical administrator and to please people and win their sympathy, for he knew too well that to write in their accredited style and language would ensure better popularity and acceptance of his views There will not be found wanting in his diction any adjectival phrase or title that was borne by the monarchs of Asia that he has not

Abul Fazl as a politician his Akbar Nāma a great political move its aims and objects

[1] Cf Four other brothers Abul Barakāt, Abul Khair, Abul Makārim and Abul Hasan (also called Abū Turāb)

Abul Fazl, the great Historian and General of Akbar
(Loan Exhibition of Antiques, Coronation
Durbar, 1911)

used it for his own sovereign, Akbar.[1] This shows that his style was not merely ornate but had a definite political significance, *viz.*, to overawe the Persian monarchs and the Sultāns of Turkey and keep their heads cool against any aggressive thoughts. The Mughal Empire was the richest in Asia, and it was not unlikely that the two great rival kings might any day mature plans to lead an attack on India The relations of the State with Turkey and Persia had drawn closer since

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[1] Cf "Muhī'uddīn wal millat," "Mu'izz-i-Saltanat," Jahān Panāh," Zillullāh," and "Sāhibqirān" titles of his predecessors Timūr and his sons · rulers of Central Asia.

"Shahinshāh," "Imām," and "Imām-i-'Adil, "Mujtahid-i-waqt wa daurān," "Jamshīd," etc titles of Persian kings

" Khalīfa" (with flexible terminology as "Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī," "Khalīfa-i-Zamān," "Khalīfatullāh"), 'Amir ul Mu'minīn," "Sultān ul Islām," and 'Ghāzī" titles of the Abbāsid Sultāns of Turkey.

" Khāqān" - title of the emperor of China, subsequently adopted by all the monarchs of Asia

All these titles are to be met with in the Akbar Nāma and the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī The more important of them like "Āmir ul Mu'minīn," "Imām i-'Ādil," Sultān-ul Islām" and "Sultān ul Muslimīn' appear in the Infallibility Decree of 1579 [Badāunī, Vol II, p. 271.]

Some of them were recognised by contemporary historians like Nizāmuddīn Ahmad and Farishta, and were subsequently used by later chroniclers for their own sovereigns.

This aspect of Abul Fazl's style was first noticed by F W. Buckler in his new Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree (JRAS, October 1924, p. 607) In this paper Mr Buckler has unearthed an entirely new conception of the interplay of politics and religion under Akbar.

Humāyūn's flight to and return from the latter. Not only did the Persian commissioned officers like the ambassadors and aides-de-camp visit the Mughal court at intervals, but that the Persian nobility and private citizens like traders, crafstmen, and among Persian intelligentsia poets and scholars, had swarmed the court. The visit of the Turkish Admiral Sidi 'Ali Re'is to the court of Humāyūn, and his remaining there as the emperor's guest and personal friend until his death and the accession of Akbar, had opened a new chapter in the foreign politics of the State, and brought the two powers nearer in their relations. The Turkish Admiral during his long stay had seen the weaknesses of the State, with its numerous implacable enemies like Hēmū and the Pathān and the Rājpūt Princes, and was sure to report what chances the flag of the *Amir-ul-Mūminin* and the recognised *Khalifa* of the Muslim world would have in India. Abul Fazl as a shrewd statesman foresaw the peril and the temptations of the rival kings against the Mughal Empire, and worked as a devoted servant of Akbar to ward off this danger by all possible means It was due to this apprehension that his pen worked out a miracle in the shape of *Akbar Nama* which in its variety of information and display of the strength of the Empire is without a parallel in the history of the Mughal rule, and the like of which was not produced in the contemporary Persia. Abul Fazl's point of view was Indian as was that of Akbar. This Indian point of view is lurking in every page and loses its disguise in his praises of Akba .

A critical estimate of Abul Fazl and his work is given by Blochmann and Jarrett in their translation of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*. The former seems to have gauged better than his successor the trend of Abul Fazl's thoughts and his objective, and he has written strongly in support of Abul Fazl's merits as a writer and the chief historian of Akbar

Critical estimate of Abul Fazl's work as a historian

> " His marvellous powers of expression fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the Akbar Nāma and the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī. His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book, which he wished to leave to future ages as a memorial of the Great Emperor and as a guide for enquiring minds; and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people. . . shew that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom."[1]

Jarrett, while admitting that " the work will deservedly go down to posterity as a unique compilation," accuses Abul Fazl of flattery and florid style :

> "His narrative affects a quaint and stiff phraseology which renders it often obscure, and continues in an even monotone, never rising or falling save in reference to the Emperor whose lightest mention compels the adoring prostration of his pen, and round

[1] *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol I, Preface, p vi.

whom the world of his characters and events revolves as its central sun."[1]

It may in fairness be admitted that his encomium as a chronicler has certainly transgressed all bounds of propriety and is even shocking to good taste, but seen from the eyes of a loyal and devoted servant of the Emperor it was not too much, nor was it offensive to the current taste and the custom prevailing at the two courts Jarrett, like so many others, sees the outer and more exposed surface of Abul Fazl's work, but does not adequately realise the political depth concealed under his parables.[2] The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* and the *Akbar Nāma* are not two separate books The former is only a concluding

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[1] Ibid, Vol II, p vi

Note.—This supports the view of Abul Fazl's political theory which has not been sufficiently realised by the learned critic Abul Fazl, as is already hinted, strives in every page to show to the world that Akbar was a mighty monarch on earth. Blochmann views it in a different light which is equally significant He observes that "we may pardon Abul Fazl when he praises because he finds a true hero" Vol I, p vi

[2] Abul Fazl is really resorting to description by parable or parallel instead of definition This practice is very common in the East, particularly among the Sūfīs and other mystical writers, and illustrated by the following passage from the Gospels

> "All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, and without a parable spake he not unto them" [Mt. 13 34, also cf 13 10 16, 4 12, and Lk 8 10]

The motive of such a method is probably due to an attempt to escape the wiles of the legal mind (Cf Lk 10 25—30) The object

part of the latter. The first volume of the *Akbar Nāma* deals with the history of the house of Tīmūr down to Akbar's accession, while the second and the third are the chronicles of Akbar's own regime. The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, which properly speaking forms the fourth volume of the *Akbar Nāma*, is divided into five books, of which the first three treat of Akbar's domestic, civil, military, and judicial staff, and the elite of the court. The last two are devoted to a consideration of the social conditions of the people, their crafts, and literary achievements, more especially the Hindu philosophy and law, and Akbar's own thought which was gathered by Abul Fazl under '*Precepts of Akbar*'

Abul Fazl's birth and his coming to the court

Abul Fazl was born in 958 A.H and was first introduced at the court by Faizī in 982 A.H., when Akbar was enjoying comparative relief from his incessant wars after crushing his enemies, and warding off the danger that had in the beginning shaken the empire to its foundation.

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of Abul Fazl was similar, he had to face the '*Ulamā* of three countries, Persia, Turkey, and even India, and it was necessary to give them no loop-hole It may be doubted whether Abul Fazl derived his inspiration of the treatment of Akbar's kingship from the teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom of Heaven, although he knew the Bible well and had translated the New Testament into Persian

Cf the statement

پاپا میگویند انجیل آورده و دلایل بر ثالث ثلاثه گذرانیده ... و
شیخ ابوالفضل به ترجمهٔ آن مامور گشت -

[Badāūnī, Vol II, p. 260.]

A few days later he came again and presented to the Emperor a commentary on the *'Āyat-ul-Kursī* (a chapter of the Qur'ān), and was much praised at the court for his intelligent exposition of it. Badāūnī remarks that though people said that it was the work of Shaikh Mubārak, Abul Fazl was complimented in the assembly [1] His other important works are the " *'Ayār-i-Dānish* " (touch-stone of knowledge), and the *Ruqqa'āt* (letters), which have been lithographed, and are still widely read in India.

His public policy, character, and death.

He was incorruptibly honest in the public services, and was devotedly attached to the Emperor. By his sheer wisdom and gifts of intellect he rose to the high rank of Minister of the State, and became a favourite with Akbar He was a rare combination of a profound scholar, a great Munshī, a distinguished historian and a writer on state-craft, splen did statesman, a brilliant administrator, an able general and an accomplished courtier, and his house like that of the *Khān-i-Khānān* was distinguished for military service [2] Among the several aspects of Abul Fazl's public life his foreign policy, which he pursued as Secretary of State for foreign affairs, is of special political import-

[1] Badāūnī, Vol II, p 198

[2] Cf Abul Fazl's son 'Abdurrahmān distinguishing himself in the battle of Talingāna and defeating Malik 'Ambar and capturing his territory. He also received the title of " Afzal Khān " from Jahāngīr for his military services.

ance He was in the Cabinet of Royal Ministers, *i.e.*, those who had portfolios, and controlled both, the House of Commons and the House of Lords, of which he was the chief organiser. He has mentioned both these institutions as بارعام and بارخاص under the *Ā'īn-i-Bār*. As a powerful chief Minister of Akbar, his relations with the fresh bands of visitors from foreign and allied countries were always very delicate The merchant class and other influential units, comprising ambassadors, Sūfīs, 'Ulamā, and the political propagandists in the garb of innocent people, used to visit the court of Akbar in large numbers The houses of Abul Fazl, Faizī, and the Khān-i-Khānān, were among the chief places of resort where the new-comers used to take shelter on their first arrival These three personalities were renowned throughout the country for their hospitality and generous reception, without bias of religion, caste or creed. Abul Fazl had another delicate duty of introducing political emissaries to the court, and commending them to the notice of Akbar according to the dignity of their office and rank. The impression that they thus carried with them of the extent of the splendour of the court, and the strength of the Empire, vitally rested on Abul Fazl's shrewdness in the performance of his task His drafts on questions of peace, alliance, and warfare, and on various social and political points of first rate importance, on which the welfare of the State materially depended, are simply marvellous, and give an impression that he was not merely a Persian scholar or a *Mullā* of the 16th century, but a clear-headed politician, and

one of the wisest and far-sighted statesmen that the world has seen in the modern times. His letters to the monarchs of Persia, Turkey, Europe, and Central Asian States, are preserved in the contemporary and later records, and may be read by the students of political history with material advantage and gain. He was in command of the army of Deccan in 1006 A H., and before this had fought many a battle with a skill and tact which had endeared him to Akbar In 1011 A.H., when he was returning from Deccan, on being recalled by the Emperor, he was murdered by the men of Rāja Bīr Singh, a Bundela Chieftain, whom Salīm had deputed to this nefarious task, on the ground of Abul Fazl's suspected infidelity to himself, as being a cause of bringing him into disfavour with Akbar.[1] He was generous and large-hearted and was kind to all his friends and foes alike

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[1] Akbar on hearing of his death was moved to tears and did not take food for two days He felt his loss more than that of his own son, and said, " O Salim, if you aspired to be king, you should have rather killed me and not Abul Fazl " No one had actually dared to carry this news to him, and it could only be conveyed through a symbol His grief and attachment can also be estimated by the following elegiac verse which he is said to have composed and often recited in the open court

شیخِ ما از شوق بیحد چون سوی ما آمده
ز اشتیاقِ پای بوسی بی سروپا آمده

No other instance of such a consideration and love for a servant can be quoted in Mughal history

His character as described by the author of *Ma'āsir-ul-'Umarā* was that he was of lofty ideals, and wished to live at peace with all men. A great point in his character was that he did not accept a title, although his own brother was "*Malik-ush-Shu'arā*," and other officials and dignitaries were distinguished by "*Khān*," "*Mulk*," "*Sadr*" and similar titles

His views on religion were much more liberal than those of an average Muslim of his day He is dubbed like his brother, Faizī, by the scrupulous and orthodox section as a free thinker and an atheist, and is said to have betrayed Akbar from the luminous path of Islām in conspiracy with other free-thinkers and pantheists at the court.

His views on religion

His style in the *Akbar Nāma* materially differs from that of his other works like the *'Ayār-i-Dānish*, the *Ruqqa'āt* and his own autobiography which he appended to the third volume of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*.[1] The language of the *Akbar Nāma* is not simple. The sentences are involved, and full of parentheses, in whose many

His style

[1] This point is very significant as showing that in the *Akbar Nāma* he adopted a peculiar style suited to his purpose and political need, *e g*, his letters to refractory officers and unwilling *amīrs* are couched in threatening language with a partronising tone, and a clever phraseology suggesting promotions and rewards without committing himself or his master to their fulfilment in any way The conclusions drawn on this basis by English historians are very shallow and superficial. They have missed a great point and entirely misunderstood the significance of Abul Fazl's diction They go to accuse him of floridity and bombast rather than

intricacies the sense is often lost. The construction which he uses is somewhat of a peculiar nature, and seems to be his own invention.[1] Often he goes to some four or five hundred years back, and uses the old and almost obsolete Persian words and compounds in the manner of Firdausī to the exclusion of the current and more accepted ones. At other times he adpots high-sounding constructions and words of learned length emanating from Arabic vocabulary, and a long train of adjectives which were used in his day in classics His style in works other than the *Akbar Nāma* is that of an average *Munshi*, and though ornate and priggish occasionally, is in accordance with the established usages, and is on the whole

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appreciate his point of view Vincent Smith for example observes

> "His prose style as read in Mr Beveridge s translation of the Akbar Nāma is intolerable to me Simple facts are wrapped in a cloud of almost meaningless rhetoric and an indelible impression is produced on the mind of the reader that the author lacks sincerity"
>
> [Akbar, the Great Mogul, p 416]

This same fact shows that he used a diplomatic language purposely in this work, and it was not his real style

[2] There are certain works of approaching similarity like the *Tārīkh-i-Wassāf*, and the *Tauqī'āt-i-Kisrā* to which the *Akbar Nāma* may be said to correspond in a general way of floridity and lengthiness of phrases, but not in the formation of its compounds, use of verbs, and construction of sentences It is therefore hard to suggest a parallel from among the known works of Persian language before or of his time, which bear the same sort of phraseology and construction

easy and graceful Some common features are summed up as follows :

(*a*) Unrestricted use of kindred words with rhythmic force .

[1] که بانهای جمیع ارباب ملل و نحل و اصحاب دین و دول مشخص و معین و مدلل و مبرهن است -

(*b*) Use of parallel words and phrases :

[2] مخفی و محتجب نیست که درین عالم ناسوت که مرآت عالم لاهوت است هیچ چیز بر محتجب فانی نیست و هیچ امرے بر موقوف لازمی نه -

(*c*) Use of adjectives with opposite attribute (known as figure antithesis)·

[3] ۱ - خصوصاً آن پیر سال جوان عمل
۲ - پیر صورت جوان سیرت
۳ - کهن سالانِ نو رسیده

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[1] *Maktūbāt i Abul Fazl*, p 29, A S B Calcutta 1827

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid pp 38-39

(*d*) Use of long Arabic compounds and phrases in Persian constructions :

[1] ۱ - خصوصاً بآن سلطنت مآب خلافت قباب مورد تجلیاتِ معنوی محیِ مراسمِ عیسوی المستغنی عن التوصیف و التعریف

۲ - که دختر یے واسطه مشهور فی الاکناف والاطراف المستغنی عن الاوصاف...الخ

(*e*) Use of Persian words and phrases for the sake of agreement with rhyme so as to make the diction ornate :

[2] ۱ حکمت مآب فطانت آیات حق شناس حقیقت اساس واقفِ مواقفِ معارف و معانی سالکِ دور بینی و کاردانی پرده کشای غوامضِ حکمتِ الهی نکته دانِ رموزِ سمعی و ساهی...الخ

۲ - حکیم نامی مخلص گرامی مدوهٔ مصر مان زبدهٔ لقمان حکیم ابوالفتح گیلانی ارین سرای فانی و تنگنای ظلمانی...الخ

[1] Ibid., pp 29-39.

[2] Ibid , pp. 40-41.

(f) In the same sentence the writer puts himself at will sometimes in the first person and sometimes in the third :

[1] وصحت و مسرت آن وحید الدهر را ازحدای
مهربان مسئالت میسماند و در لوازم دوستی ار خود
سرمنده نسبت حضور و عیب یکسان چه گویم که
دروغ گفته باشم

No other history of the reign of Akbar, or of any other Mughal emperor, was written on so elaborate a scale as the Akbar Nāma.[2] Nizām-uddin Ahmad and Farishta both compliment Abul Fazl on its production, and with acknowledgment to him derive their information on the period of Akbar from his work. Abul Fazl's privilege as a high official gave him access to all the open and secret records of the State as well as Akbar's personal and domestic documents, which gave his work a precision and minuteness beyond the reach of other historians. Such a detailed minute-book of Akbar's regime, comprising of statistics and gazetteer, and supplying varied information on the social, political, religious literary, judicial, civil, military, agricultural, and economic progress of the country, is without a parallel in the whole history of Hindūstān.

Value of Akbar Nāma as a chronicle

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[1] Ibid., p 94

[2] The one approaching instance is *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of 'Abdul Hamid Lāhori, which is but a copy of *Akbar Nāma* on a small scale

There seems to be some basis for the compilation of the *Akbar Nāma*. Some hold that Albīrūnī's India is the basis of this work. Others think that Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma*[1] might be a probable incentive to Abul Fazl for his undertaking this huge task. There seems to be no doubt that there was some ideal before the mind of Abul Fazl, which prompted him to undertake this work.

Basis of Akbar Nāma suggested to be (i) Albīrūnī's India or (ii) Firdausī's Shāh Nāma

In both the suggestions there is some truth which imparts colour to the pages of the *Akbar Nāma*. In Albīrūnī's India, we have a detailed description of the Hindū philosophy, sciences, and social and religious cults with occasional contrast with the Muslim and Greek doctrines In Abul Fazl's work too, we find chapters devoted exclusively to a consideration of the Hindū law and philosophy and other social and religious customs, with almost the same zeal.[2] Similarly we have in Abul Fazl's work certain internal points which closely resemble those in Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma*. The most obvious is the spirit in which the authors undertook their task. Firdausī idolized his hero and worked more for the love of his country than for the reward in money. The same applies to Abul Fazl whose national feeling and devotion were no less than Firdausī's.[3]

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[1] This was suggested to me by Prof F W Buckler

[2] *Cf*, chapters IV and V of Vol III, of the *'Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* exclusively devoted to Hindū religion and philosophy

[3] It may be noted that the satire of Firdausī on Sultan Mahmūd was only an after-thought and was the outcome of the shock of despair which he met with in his old age by reason of the non-fulfilment of the promise made to him by the Sultān

In addition to the above two suggested models there is in the opinion of the present writer one which, in its diverse points of resemblance, recommends itself much more strongly than any other yet known, and it is the *Zafar Nāma* of Sharafuddin 'Ali Yezdi. Abul Fazl now and then refers to it in a manner which suggests that he aspires to compete with Sharafuddin, and to write his *Akbar Nāma* after the style of *Zafar Nāma* He also compares one phase of his narrative with that of Sharafuddin, drawing a parallel between his description and that of himself. There is a significant passage in which Abul Fazl tries to show that Akbar was greater in kingdom, and his wealth and booty were many times more than Timūr's.[1]

Zafar Nāma as the probable basis

[1] Cf مولانا شرف‌الدین علی یزدی در ظفرنامه در مبارزت حضرت صاحبقرانی که در هند بظهور آمد شرح ملحمات بهادران لشکر و عظمت والئی هندوستان چگونه بیان می کند، و بتفاخر مرقوم می سازد که صد و بیست فیل جنگی مردان جنگ عظیم بتصرف اولیای دولت درآمد و بر تاریخ دانان هشیار مغز حال والئی آن زمان روشن است که چه نسبت هیمو کدام پایه را داشت و درین کار نامهٔ عبرت افزا (یعنی اکبر نامه ۱۲) که اندکی از بسیار گزارش یافت هزار و پانصد فیل بدست فرمان پذیران بارگاه والا در آمد سایر معاملات را ازین قیاس میتوان کرد، و کمیت خزاین و سایر اسباب و آلات فرمانروائی خود کجا بشمار در آید -

[Akbar Nāma, Vol II, p. 44]

Abul Fazl's own language suggests that there is a veiled desire on his part to write out a record of the glorious achievements of Akbar on the battlefield, and to proclaim him as a mighty king upon earth, more than was accomplished by Sharafuddin for his sovereign Timūr The same extract is suggestive of the fact that Abul Fazl attempts to compare Akbar in all aspects of his government with Timūr, and himself with his historian, Shrafuddin 'Ali Yezdi

Many a title like '*Sāhibqirān*,' '*Abul Fath*,' '*Jahān Panāh*,' '*Mu'izz-i-Saltanat*,' '*Muhi-ul-Millat*,' etc., which Abul Fazl uses for Akbar, is evidently taken from the *Zafar Nāma*. Again there is the closest similarity between the two titles[1] All these points in the shape of external and internal evidence are so many proofs of *Zafar Nāma* being the basis of *Akbar Nāma* that it cannot be thrown out of consideration.

Reasons why *Albīrūnī's India* and *Shāh Nāma* cannot be the basis

Albirūni's India, on the other hand, is in Arabic, and is not the history of any king or government. It is a description of the Hindū thought in all its phases, undertaken at the suggestion of Abu Sahl 'Abdul Mun'im of Tiflis, and written for and dedicated to nobody It is thus a work of love and a research of high order unlike the political stuff and the statistics of a historian whose object, in the case of Abul Fazl, was to please his sovereign and to make it a political success. Similarly the *Shāh Nāma*, which is in Persian verse, cannot be compared with Abul Fazl's prose-work, except in the one major phase already noticed.[2] Besides, there are certain minor points which, though in common with the *Shāh Nāma* and the *Zafar Nāma*. assert themselves more in favour of the latter

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[1] Abul Fazl seems to have given the title of Akbar Nāma to his work in imitation of Sharafuddīn 'Alī's *Zafar Nāma* (also called by some *Timūr Nāma*).

[2] *Vide* p. 244 supra

CHAPTER IV

Akbar's religion, policy, and character

Tennyson says in his notes to his poem on "Akbar's Dream" that "his tolerance of religion and his abhorrence of religious persecutions put our Tudors to shame.' Akbar in the first part of his reign was a good Muslim, and there was nothing objectionable in his beliefs and practices After the arrival of Abul Fazl and Faizi at the court, a change in the former beliefs of Akbar began to creep on him slowly Rāja Bir Bal introduced sun-worship[1] which gradually led to fire-worship, in pursuance of the doctrines preached by the Zoroastrians at the court. The sacred fire was kept by Akbar and committed to the care of Abul Fazl.[2] Akbar is said to hold the

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol II, p 260, cf the statement

[و بیربر خاطرنشان ساخته که چون آفتاب مظهر تام است .
و روشنی عالم و حیات عالمیان وابسته باو پس لایق عبادت و تعظیم
باشد الخ]

[2] Ibid, p 261 [Cf

[فرمودند که آتش را باهتمام شیخ ابوالفضل بروش ملوک عجم که
آتشکدهٔ ایشان - همیشه برپای بود دایم الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز
محفوظ نگاه می داشته باشند

belief that fire was a symbol of God, and a light from His many lights. That was why all the court rose up in silence when the lamps were lighted. The great charge against Akbar is his religious tolerance and the introduction of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, which led to a stoppage of exclusive attention being paid to Muslim rights. Such a measure brought ready disciples from all quarters and communities of the empire into personal touch with Akbar. The scope of this new religion, of which he was the head, was so wide and its principles so absorbing that all different creeds and sects were represented at the court,[1] and every one, while advancing fearlessly his own theory, saw it embodied in the new faith How far it was the real belief or policy of Akbar could be judged from the answer once given by him when a question was put to him on the ambiguity contained in his monogram "*Allāh u Akbar*"[2] which served as the royal seal, and was also engraved on his coins. According to Badāūnī, Akbar was greatly displeased, and said, 'it was self-evident that no creature in the depths of his impotence could advance any claim to divinity.' His court through the propagation of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*

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[1] Abul Fazl states that the court of Akbar was overcrowded by the Jews, Sūfīs, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Brahmans Sunnīs, Shī 'as and Zoroastrians and heated discussions among doctors, preachers, and philosophers of every sect occurred at evenings, and were zealously attended by the emperor

[2] This means 'God is Great,' but can also be construed as 'Akbar is God'

was thronged by people of all shades of opinion which he tolerated and even encouraged. Whatever his real sentiments might be, it is noticeable that he took special care that his countenance should express nothing but satisfaction and zeal for all that was preached or brought to him. Badāūni and other devout Muslims were shocked at these innovations, and held Faizi and Abul Fazl responsible for all such heresies This policy of Akbar was the secret of his success. His aim was to prepare the ground for a great national ideal, the unification of India, by bringing the two imperial religions of his empire under the yoke of one symbolic truth. He thus laid the foundation of Indian nationalism by a silent but vigorous appeal to the sons of the soil to discard their long-cherished apathy towards the Muslim invaders who had entered Hindūstān as victors in the first century A. H The idea of untouchability or *malich*-ness of a Muslim had taken root in a different soil under political exigency. It was a sort of social boycott, organised and preached by the leaders of a community against foreign intrusion, which in the course of time took a religious turn, and has never since relaxed. The policy of inter-marriage was in effect a vital part of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* introduced into the system to bridge the gulf that separated the two great communities and to wipe away the prejudices of each. He knew as a practical politician that if he were to rule in India with more stability than was the lot of his father and grandfather he could not but be at peace with the powerful Hindū chiefs

and win the heart of all his subjects. This is what Abul Fazl held in his public policy, and carried it to Akbar, who, being of the same views and temperament, worked it out in its minutest details. The motive underlying *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* and the *Infallibility Decree* was exactly the same in its nature and scope. The latter only supplements the former. Through the first he sought to bring people of all sects and creeds, particularly the Hindūs and the Muslims, well-nigh to his person, nearer even than their own priests. It was evident that this end could only be achieved through his spiritual headship which every disciple in his dutiful submission was naturally to regard above that of his *gurū* As this institution was surely to receive no countenance and popularity among the Muslims he had recourse to the Infallibility Decree by virtue of which his decisions were binding on his co-religionists in cases where Muslim opinion was divided.[1] The decree was drafted by Abul Fazl's father, Shaikh Mubārak, in consultation with five other great jurists of the State. He was by nature not a politician, and showed no talents as such The reason why he was put to this task was simply due to his profound learning, by virtue of which he was held in the highest esteem by the students of Muslim jurisprudence as well as by the public. This again was a political move to inspire confidence in the people. The hand of Abul Fazl and Faizi could well

[1] *Vide* Buckler, "Infallibility Decree, ut supra, pp 592, 594 and 607

be seen working from behind the screen. The first and most direct result which the two brothers contemplated to achieve by this measure was to make the Mughal Empire independent of the religious headship of Turkey on the one hand, and to gain the allegiance of the Hindūs on the other, through the institution of *Dīn-i-Ilāhi*. The scheme worked well, and laid the first key-stone on which the subsequent sovereigns and nation-builders have attempted to raise the super-structure of Hindū-Muslim unity. The marriages of Akbar and his son, Jahāngīr,. with the daughters of the powerful Hindū Rājas, served as a great and potential step in that direction. In short, this policy combined with the religious tolerance, and strengthened by the *Mahzar* (the Infallibility Decree) was the biggest move on national lines for the Unity of the Indian Empire.

His character, like that of Abul Fazl, was more of a modern statesman of Europe than a contemporary monarch of Asia. He was a keen observer of men, and a good judge of their worth He knew, more than any other king of his line did, the virtues and the shortcomings of his officers, and with confidence entrusted them with duties according to their proper worth and capacity He also reposed trust in his servants, and refused to hear any ill of them, nor took heed of the same until the reports were persistent, and he satisfied himself on all points concerning them. As a result of this policy he had less enemies to fear and more friends to rely on. All these features were the key-note to his success as

an administrator, and were a cause of the downfall of the Mughal Empire when neglected in their entirety by Aurangzeb and his successors in India. All through his life he was as much anxious to extend the boundary of his empire and to bring peace and prosperity to the people as to give patronage to Persian letters. So many scholars and poets had assembled at his court that no other instance of such assemblage is known to history since the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, except that of the present Nizām whose patronage and love of letters has drawn to his court a galaxy of scholars which has made Hyderabād a famous seat of learning in the East, and revived, once again, the glories of the great Mahmūd and Akbar.

Some literary features of his reign (i) *khat* (calligraphy)

With the array of fine delicacies introduced into Persian composition came the niceties in penmanship or what is called *khat*. It grew as a sequel to the patronage offered to Persian prose and poetry, which necessitated the works of the best authors to be written down with as much elegance and elaboration as their quality demanded.[1]

[1] Cf., the huge volumes of poetical works like Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma*, Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, Khusrau's masnawī *Duwalrānī, Khizr Khān*, Jāmī's *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*, Faizī's *Nal-daman*, and *Razm Nāma* and other similar poems were copied by scribes in elegant hand with profuse illustrations, at Akbar's order

Also, sundry works on history and fable like *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (a huge work covering 668 folios of large foolscap size), *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* (in 12 volumes), *Tārīkh-i-Krishajī*,

This process naturally led to a widespread taste among people for beautiful handwriting which soon came to be regarded as a fine art and an essential part of a scholarly and cultured gentleman. A good many instances can be quoted of poets and prose-writers who were also good calligraphists.[1] The official correspondence with the Persian court and other allied countries of Central Asia, as also with the independent native States of India, was conducted in the Persian '*nasta 'liq*,' and the several scribes vied with one another in achieving elegance, neatness of letters, and beauty of curves In fact the post of *Munshi* (scribe) under the Mughal sovereigns, was considered as a special prerogative of and was reserved for schol-

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Zafar Nāma of Sharafuddin 'Ali Yezdi, and *Darāb Nāma* (a story-book like *Dāstān-i-Amir Hamza*) were similarly written in a beautiful hand In the estimated 12 to 15 thousand volumes of precious manuscripts in his library, a good many were caused to be re-written in elegant '*naskh*' and *nasta'liq*' Similarly in Faizi's library of 4,600 volumes most of the MSS were contemporary productions on which he had, according to Badāūni spent large sums of money of his '*jāgir*' The activities of the general public and at the court of the *Khān-i-Khānān* can easily be guessed Smaller works on romance and love, and selected poems of authors were often caused to be written on fine silky paper the ground of which was perfumed and besprinkled with mica and gold dust

[1] Cf, Faizi, 'Urfi Hakimi, Abul Fazl, Nishtai and others, who were expert calligraphists. For detailed information refer "*Risāla-i-Khush Nawisān*' by Khalifa Shaikh Ghulam Muhammad '*haft qalam* Akbarshahi

(B.M. MSS., Or 1,881)

ars who could also write a beautiful hand. This was the greatest impetus given to the art of calligraphy

(ii) '*Inshā*' letter-writing) This may be said to be one of the chief factors which produced a general taste for calligraphy It was divided into two main branches :

(*a*) official correspondence, and

(*b*) private correspondence

The holder of the first was technically called a *Munshi* who was qualified as a poet and a prose-writer, and could readily recall to his memory, as occasion demanded, appropriate verses from standard authors. As such the *mansab* of a Munshi was a very responsible one, for upon his diction depended largely the impression of the power and greatness of the State he represented His document was judged at the rival courts on its face value, that is to say, on the dignity of the language employed, the high tone of rhetoric displayed, and the powerful manner in which the object was expressed. Upon these the success of the document virtually depended There was the rank of chief-Munshi, or secretary of correspondence, who was the head of all other Munshis in different administrative branches The desire to hold the office of a Munshi occasioned keen competition among rival candidates as to who could express himself well, embracing all those qualifications and attributes that were essential for letter-writing. The second, *viz*. private correspondence also contributed no less than the first towards the growth of penmanship Every one writing a letter to his friends, a pupil

A page from the *Darabnama*
Artists Bihzad and Abd Samad

to his teacher, a son to his father, and a poet to his other colleagues, observed all possible neatness in his diction, and endeavoured to produce as beautiful letters as he could so as to attract the notice of the addressee, and to create a good impression upon the reader

(iii) '*Naqqāshī*' (drawing).

This branch, though strictly speaking does not come under literary advancement, was closely allied with penmanship A good calligraphist was also a good painter, who could successfully illumine the works he copied Khwāja 'Abdussamad, who was an expert calligraphist and known as *shīrīn qalam* (sweet pen) was also a skilled painter, and produced many volumes, at the order of Akbar, richly illumined with pictures. Bihzād[1] was another who in conjunction with Khwāja 'Abdussamad produced Dārāb Nāma, a story-book, profusely illustrated with scenes and pictures of men, women, birds, and other animals. Abul Fazl names 17 best painters out of 100, who had assembled at the court. The son of Khwāja 'Abdussamad also was an equally skilled draughtsman like his father According to Badāūnī the father had written on both sides of a poppy seed, "Qulhuwallāh" the third verse of the Qur'ān from the last, and the son

[1] The Bihzād family is conspicuous in the history of the Mughal Fine Arts in India. The senior Bihzād, who was a contemporary of Bābur, had earned a name which went forth as a guarantee that the work was a faultless production (*Vide* Bābur's comment in his Turkī autobiography, *The Bābur Nāma*, on Bihzād's drawings)

had shown his morvellous powers by perforating eight holes in the poppy seed and drawing a thread through each. He is further stated to have drawn the picture of a cavalier with all his retinue and necessary equipment, on a grain of rice.[1] Mulla 'Ali Ahmad *Nishānī* was another famous artist whose engravings on stone were renowned in Central Asia, and fetched a high price in Khurāsān, 'Irāq, and Central Asian States.[2] Muhammad Husain Kashmīrī, Daswant, Bisāwan, and Harī Bans, were other distinguished painters and calligraphists. The first is better known by his title of *zarrīn qalam* (gold pen). The second who was a pupil of Khwāja 'Abdussamad is said to have excelled his master in certain aspects of drawing. Akbar, noticing his artistic bent of mind had put him under the special care of the Khwāja for training. In fact a separate school of painting had been founded through Akbar's

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol III, p 310 [Cf, the statement

شریف قلم دارد ولد خواجه عبدالصمد مصور از جوانان نو رسیده
در حسن خط و تصویر بی نظیر است و مشهور است که پدرش بریک
طرف دانهٔ خشخاش سورهٔ اخلاص تمام درست خوانا نوشته و طرف دیگر
نیز لازمی ملوده و شریف پسرش دریک دانهٔ خشخاش میگویند که هفت
سوراخ باریک کرده و تارها ازان گذرانده و هر دانهٔ برنجی صورت
سواری مسلح و جلو داری در پیش مع دیگر خصوصیات از تیغ و سپر
و چوگان و کوران نقش کرده

[2] Ibid pp 349-50 [Cf,

مولانا علی احمد ... که امروز نقش نگین او کارنامهٔ روزگار است
و در عراق و خراسان و ماوراء النهر سکهٔ او را به تیمن و تبرک می
برند... در جمیع خطوط ید طولی دارد و در انشا و املا بی نظیر

Painting from the *Bahāristān*
Artist Basawan

patronage, which combined the requisite attributes of Persian and Indian painting.[1] The remnants of such drawings on the walls and galleries of the royal buildings at Fathpūr Sikrī,[2] and in the forts of Delhī and Āgra,[3] survive even to this day. The moving figures of soldiers, horses, and elephants on the pavement of the Pachchīsī hall, where Akbar used to play chess, the romantic scenes depicted on slabs of marble in the Panj Mahal (a five-storeyed building at Fathpūr), the life-like sketch of nine men rowing in a boat, painted on a wall in Akbar's bed-chamber at Fathpūr Sikrī, and similar other representations on the balconies of the audience-halls of Āgra and Delhī, the royal baths, and on the screens of his private chambers, are preserved in the collections of the Lucknow, Delhī, and Calcutta Museums. The imaginary scenes of Heaven and Hell, and symbolic figures of angels representing the fall of Adam and the fate of man, were also depicted on a fresco in Fathpūr-Sikrī. Akbar was thus a patron not only of Persian prose and poetry but also of art and calligraphy.

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[1] Fergusson, History of India and Eastern Architecture, Burgess, 1910

[2] E. W. Smith, The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri, Allahabad, 1894

[3] E. W. Smith, Moghul Colour Decorations of Āgra, Allahabad, 1901. Also Of Sayyid Muhammad Latif. Historical and Descriptive Āgra, Calcutta, 1896.

His death.

As a result of his generous policy and kindly disposition towards people of all sects and creeds, coupled with an extraordinarily liberal patronage of every branch of art and science, he had made himself endeared to the general public, and was respected by all. His death came as a shock to the poet, scholar, architect, painter, and scribe, who all felt it as a personal loss. Mīr Haidar Kāshī on hearing of it uttered offhand the following hemistich which, curiously enough, is also the chronogram ingeniously devised:

[1] الف کشید ملایک ز فوت اکبر شاه

He died in A H 1014, leaving an organised, prosperous, and extensive empire to his son Salīm, afterwards Jahāngīr, and was mourned by the country far more than any other monarch of his line that ever sat on the throne of Delhī. He was a signally humane and many-sided personality rare among the rulers of Hindūstān

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[1] The year of his death is to be found in the numerical value of the letters in 'فوت اکبر شاه' less the value of '*alif*,' as follows

80+6+400+1+20+2+200+300+1+5=1015. 1015−1 =1014

This extempore composition as given by Dāghistānī (B M MSS., Add. 16,729, fol 40b) is indicative of the wonderful progress made in the art of poetry and chronogram under Akbar.

These two figures are among the *Nine Gems* of the court of Akbar, who are known by the familiar name of *Nauratan* to the Indian public. The less educated class assigns to them numerous stories of wit and humour, which have been handed down from generation to generation. But the historical truth about these men, so far as it could be ascertained from the contemporary literature, is the following. The former, Du Piyāza, was known as such from his fondness for a dish—*du Piyāza*[1]. (two onions) which was prepared with two seers of onions and ten seers of meat, with spices added to them. He is reputed as a celebrated wit, and nicknamed Du Piyāza by Akbar's courtiers. He was an Arab, and well-versed in Arabic prosody and literature whence his title *Mullā*. He had a wonderful memory, and remembered by heart hundreds of verses and maxims which he recited on every occasion He came to India in the train of one of Humāyūn's generals, and stayed at Āgra where he learned colloquial Hindi, in addition to his knowledge of Persian which he already possessed. He was a personal friend and a favourite of Akbar, and retained his position as such for ever. Tradition has it that he loved to ride on a lean horse which would almost be reeling underneath the burden of his master and thereby provided the citizens with enormous fun. One loves to picture him dressed in quaint

His *Nauratan* (1) Mullā Du Piyāza (2) Raja Birbal.

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[1] *'Ā'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p 60

accoutrements, riding on a lean Arab. He loved mirth, and notwithstanding his witty disposition he had something deep and profound underlying that gay exterior. His wit was the fruit of a lifetime's quest after wisdom. Probably after a thorough study of philosophic problems of life and death and destiny, he thought that nothing was better than joy and love and peace He was simple as a child and generous in the extreme. He cared little for gold and silver All that he got from the court of Akbar he distributed among the poor and destitute before he reached home Children were fond of him, widows prayed for him, and the orphans looked to him with filial love He was the help of the helpless and the friend of the needy. He was thus irresistibly an attractive and lovable character with but few wants and desires of his own

Birbar or Birbal, whose real name was Birhamdās, was a high caste Brahman of the Kālpi district He came to Āgra in search of employment in the early days of Akbar's coronation, and was admitted into the court among the king's personal staff. He was a shrewd young man with gifts of comradeship and quick wit. Within a short time of his service he became well-known at the court for his repartees and humour, and attracted the attention of the king in person who was so pleased with his contests of wit that he conferred upon him the title of "*Kab Rāi*" (king of poets)[1] to match with that of the Persian

[1] Badāuni, Vol II, p 161

poet, Ghizālī Mashhadī's *Malik-ush-Shu'arā.* In the year 980 A.H., when the fort of Nagar Kōt was conquered by the king's forces led by Husain Qulī Khān, Akbar was pleased to confer upon Birhamdās the title of Rāja, calling him Birbar (which Badāūnī interprets into *Bahādur*, meaning *brave*), and appointed that district as his *jāgīr*, to maintain his rank He became in the course of time Akbar's confidant, and exercised greater influence upon him than the Mullā His *mansab* was ندیم خاص (king's own courtier)

Other luminaries of the *Nauratan* were (1) Faizī, (2) Abul Fazl, (3) Mirzā Tān Sēn, (4) 'Abdur-rahīm *Khān-i-Khanān*, (5) Rāja Todar Mal, (6) Hakīm Humām, and (7) Rāja Mān Singh, all of whom, except the last three, have figured in these pages The Hakīm was the chief physician

(3) Hakīm Humām

of the king's *harem*. He was a man of great ability culture, and wit, and was reputed to charm the whole assembly by his presence and animated talk. Being in full confidence of the king, he was also in charge of the royal kitchen, and was addressed by Akbar as *Mīr Bakawal* His post was a very responsible one specially in those days when plots were hatched and attempts on the lives of kings were not infrequent.

Rāja Todar Mal was in the Finance Department of the State, and served under Muzaffar Khān and

(4) Rāja Todar Mal

Shihāb Khān, the two revenue experts, for some years before his talents and worth became fully known to Akbar.

He thoroughly overhauled the *mālguzārī* system of the Province of Gujarāt, and made a settlement of the land revenue, by virtue of which the province yielded six times more than what it did before. He was subsequently appointed Governor of the Province in the year 985 A. H. He was also in charge of the royal Mint at Gaur (Bengal) for one year in 983 A. H. The general principles of his reforms have been described by Abul Fazl in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II In Northern India too he successfully revised the assessment of the land revenue in several districts like Āgra, Fathpūr, and Shāhābād. He was an able general besides, and tactfully quelled several rebellions in the State, and showed great statesmanship in Bengal.

(5) Rāja Mān Singh

Mān Singh was the adopted son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, heir-apparent to Rāja Bihāra Mal of Ambēr (Rājpūtānā). He entered the service of Akbar soon after his accession to the throne, and became a relation of the Emperor through ties of royal marriages with his house In the year 970 A. H., when Akbar was on his way to Ajmēr to visit the shrine of the holy saint Khwāja Mu'inuddin Chishti, Rāja Bihāra Mal came to greet the Emperor at Deosa and offered him his eldest daughter in marriage. This was a great event in the history of the social life of India, and laid the first brick of the structure of inter-alliance of the two most important communities of the Indian Empire.[1] On Akbar's return from

[1] Also cf., Akbar's second marriage with the daughter of Rāja

Ajmēr, the marriage was solemnised with great rejoicing on both sides, and contributed to the solidarity of the Indian nation. This lady subsequently became the mother of Jahāngīr. Two decades after this historic occurrence, Mān Singh's sister was given in marriage to Prince Salīm, afterwards Jahāngīr. Due to these circumstances Mān Singh excelled all others in prestige and rank, and his personal influence on Akbar was enormous. He was governor of Bihār, and also held the office of *Vakīl* (king's Deputy) for some time. He was a staunch follower of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, and liked to remain at the Court near the person of the king

(6) Faizī, (7) Abul Fazl (8), 'Abdurrahīm *Khān-i-Khānān* (9) Tān Sēn.

The other luminaries were Faizī, Abul Fazl, 'Abdurrahīm *Khān-i-Khānān*, and Mirza Tān Sēn, who have been already described in the previous chapters.

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of Bikānēr which, not only brought to his side another powerful Rājput ally, but promoted considerably the good feelings between the Hindūs and the Muslims. It throws a flood of light on the wisdom of Abul Fazl and other responsible ministers for having contrived so infallible a mode of uniting the two communities in friendship, and of bringing their respective sovereigns so near to each other.

CHAPTER V

Evolution of Urdū dispute about its parentage opinions of European orientalists

The earliest traces of Urdū language, together with sundry specimens of its subsequent growth in the country, have been given in the preceding parts of this book They amply show how Urdū developed and expanded itself in the congenial atmosphere and surroundings of India There has been some difference of opinion as to the real parentage and the circumstances which led to the birth of this new language Some hold that Hindī was the main fount and source of Urdū, while others think that the chief factor which occasioned its birth was Persian These two schools of thought sponsor their own theories in support of their contentions The truth, however, lies midway between the two, and is now gathering force and strength every day and attracting the attention of the philologists of the East and the West Many French, German, and English writers have expressed the opinion that the feeders of Urdū were conjointly Hindī and Persian, and *not* Hindī alone as was the view of some indigenous writers and Western scholars like Sir George Grierson, who based their conclusions on the ground of Urdū grammar and the general aspect of the language being similar to that of Hindī The Persian influx into

the country, which occasioned the Persian culture to come in forceful contact with Hindī Prakrits, is originally responsible for the conception and form of modern Urdū. The famous French writer, Monsieur Garcin Du Tassy, held long ago the same view as is now expressed by some European Orientalists in the light of modern investigations and scientific analysis. He is greatly supported by a Russian writer, Professor Bronnokoff, who has contributed a series of valuable articles on the conception, birth, and growth of modern Urdū, which, he observes, is a mixture as much of Hindī as of Persian. It is true that Urdū in the beginning of its evolution embraced 60 to 70 per cent Hindī words and closely followed Hindī grammar, but it is equally true that it borrowed mostly from Persian the syntax, the metres of poetry, and the texture of thought itself, besides the remaining percentage of words which were either Persian or brought through the medium of Persian. Thus one can say that Urdū primarily is an offspring of Hindī Prakrits which, under a long and sustained influence of the spoken Persian and its vocabulary, gradually softened itself until it came to acquire the present form and texture It is apparent from the early poetry that Urdū in its primitive stages was following Hindī more closely than Persian. But as time went on and the mutual relations between Persian and Hindī grew more friendly and intima tethrough intellectual, social, and commercial intercourse, this new-born child continued to imbibe more and more the spirit and character of the former.

Progress of Urdū in the reign of Akbar contributions of Tulsī Dās and Sūr Dās

Some instances of Akbar's Hindī speeches and his own Hindī compositions have been cited already in the previous chapters. They are the best specimens of Urdū, and show clearly the king's own predilection for this dialect. During his regime a good many poets and scholars sprang up in the country who contributed a great deal towards the growth of modern Urdū. The service rendered to Urdū by Tulsī Dās and Sūr Dās is most valuable, and attracted the attention of the Hindū public towards this language more than ever. A good many songs and *doharās* were composed by them in soft colloquial Hindī incorporating many Arabic and Persian words which were skilfully blended with those of Hindī origin. Some verses which are clear specimens of Urdū are quoted below:

Tulsī Dās

تلسي بروا باگ ماں کہ سینچے سے کمہلاے
سہجن بھروسا رام کا کہ پربت پر ہریاے

تلسي آہ گریب کي ہر سے سہي نہ جاے
موے چام کي دھونک سے کتہن لوہ بھسم ہوجاے

تلسي گرب نہ کیجے بنک نہ ہنسئے کوي
ابھي ناؤ منجدھار ماں کا جانے کا ہوي

تلسی پر گھر جائیے کے دکھہ نہ کہئے کوی
اپنا بھرم گنوائیے کے بات نہ پوچھے کوی

مانا کو مانا ملے کر کر لمبے هات
تلسی داس گرنب کی کوئی نہ پوچھے بات

تلسی یا سنسار میں پانچ رتن هیں سار
سادھو ملن اور هری بھجن دیا دین اپکار

Sūr Dās[1]

سبھی دن سورداس ایک هي سے نہیں جات
سمرن دھیان کیو کر هری کو جب لگ تن کسلات

باد بہی کو گرو باورو بدب بھرب اپرات
باد بیواد سبھي دت دیے کھیلت هي اور کھات

بال پن کھیلت هي کھویو اور ترنا پن السات
سورداس اوسر کے بیتے رهیو پن پچھتات

میرا من انت کہاں سکھہ پاوے
جیسے اڑ جہاج کو پنشي پھر جہاج پر آوے

---

[1] I am indebted to my worthy friend and colleague, Dr Seth, Ph.D (London), Professor of Economics, for these lines of Sūr Dās.

حگ میں جھوٹ ھي کو مانو
من سچھڑے من چھاز ھوی گا کو

مس میری کبھي ما ھس کیجے
کمھے پہچ سہا سو
سانچ جھوٹ کر مانا جوڑي
آپن روکھو کھا سو
سور داس کچھہ نھر نہیں رھي
جو آمو سو جا سو

مو ن سو ن کو ں کتھن کہل کا مي
جن تن دیئے ماھي نسرانو
ا یسو ما ں جرامي
ھري جن چھوڑ ھری وی مکھن کي
دس د ن کرت گلا مي
پا بي کون نڑا مو سے
سب بتي نن مس ما مي
سور نپت کو تھور کہاں ھے
سمئے شری بب سوامي

The above extracts, while showing intimate association of Arabic and Persian with Hindi, are also illustrative of the polish that Urdū was receiving at their hands. The verses of Tulsī Dās are particularly noteworthy as being a very good instance of the structure of Urdū under Akbar. Some lines of Sūr Dās

cited by Muhammad Husain Āzād contain even greater proportion of Persian words than already noticed. Cf:

مابا دھام دھن دنتا
باندھیو ھوں اس ساج (ساز)
سنت سبھي حانت ھوں
نو نہ آیو باج (باز)
کھمت بہت کا ھي نم تانے
سمن سني آواج (آواز)
دبونہ حات پار اتر آئے (ذات)
جاھت چڑھیں جہاج (جہاز)
لمحئے بار اتار سور کوں
مہاراج مرح راج
مشن کرت پرنبھوں نم سوں
سدا گریب نواج (غریب نواز)

When such devout personalities could not avoid incorporating Muslim vocabulary in their religious songs, it may well be guessed to what extent the common people would have done it in their private talks and communications.

Contribution of 'Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān.

Another great contributor to Urdū is the Khān-i-Khānān whose Hindi poetry under the pen-name *Rahiman*, made a vigorous appeal to the people of Hindūstān. His poems are generally of a very simple nature, and in spite of the fact that he was a

scholar of Sanskrit and an accomplished poet of Persian, he put his thoughts in easy flowing language, a language which was free from the terse Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic vocabulary. This was a great impetus to Urdū, which not only made it popular, but endeared it to every one. A few specimens are quoted below :

رحیمن چپ ہو بیٹھیئے دیکھہ دن کے پھیر[1]
جب نیکے دن آئینگے بنت نہ لگیئے دیر

امي پیاوے ماں دن رحیمن ھمیں نہ سہاے
ماں سہت مرنو بھلو برو نکھہ دے ھی ملائیے

رحیمن وے نر مرچکے جو کہوں مانگن جائیں
ان تے پہلے وے موے جن مکھہ نکہست ناھیں

رحمن کھو جو اوکھہ میں جہاں رس کي کہاں
جہاں گانٹھہ تہاں رس نہیں یہي پریت کي ھان

رحیمن دھاگا پریم کا مت توڑو چٹکاے
توٹے سے پھر نا ملے - ملے گانٹھہ پڑ جاے

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[1] *Note.*—These verses of 'Abdurrahīm *Khān-i-Khānān* have been copied from a valuable manuscript in possession of my worthy friend Bābū Bānke Lāl Saheb, B.A , LL.B., Pleader, Jaunpūr.

رحیمن پرت سرائیے ملے هوت رنگ دون
جیوں هردی زردی تجی-تجی سفیدی چون

رحمن اب مشکل بهیو گاڑهے دوؤ کام
سانچ کہے تو جگ نہیں جهوٹے ملے نہ رام

رحیمن سدهی چال سو پیادہ هوت وزیر
فرزیں شاہ نہ هو سکے تیڑهے کی تاثیر

رحیمن پرت نہ کیجئیے جس کهمرائے کیں
اوپر سے تو دل ملا بهیتر پهانکیں تین

روٹهے سُجَن منائیے جو روٹهیں سو بار
رحیمن پهر پهر پوئیے جو توٹے مکتا هار

بس کشمک چاهت کشل نہ رحیم افسوس
مهما گهٹی سمندر کی راون بسا پڑوس

رحیمن دیکهہ بڑوں کو لگهو نہ دیجیے ڈار
جہاں کام آوے سوئی کیا کرے تروار

دھول ازاوت شبش پرکھو رحیم کِہ کاج
جےھي رج رِ کھہ پتني نري سوھي ڈھوندب گھراج

رحیمن یوں حس ھوب ھي اُپکاري کے انگ
بانٹن والے کو لگے جیوں مہندی کو رنگ

Besides the poets cited above, there were many others in the various parts of India who composed verses in the local Prakrits which were already affected by Persian tone and vocabulary. In fact the Hindi dialects of upper Hindūstān, during the period of Akbar, had yielded more to the influence of Persian than any other Prakrit of the country did outside the Mughal court. We find, wherever the Muslims went they introduced their element and a number of Persian and Arabic expressions in the native dialects, which, in the course of time lost their original rigour and rigidity, and softened into Urdū. The provinces that were affected most, after Delhi and Āgra, by the influx of Muslim culture and civilization were Gujarāt, Sindh, and the Deccan. The last-named produced two great poets of polished Prakrits (or Hindī): Burhānuddīn Jānam, and Sultān Muhammad Qulī Qutub Shāh: whose works survive to this day and bear eloquent testimony to their contribution to Urdū. Of the former a good collection of poetical works is in possession of Maulānā 'Abdul Haq, Secretary, *Anjuman Taraqqī-i-Urdū*, Aurangābād,

Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānam, Mullā Nūrī, and Sultān Muhammad Qulī Qutub Shāh

Deccan, who also contributed an illuminating article on the life and writings of the poet, in the *Urdū Quarterly*, dated July, 1927. A few instances of the poet's contribution to Urdū language are quoted below :

سکتا قادر قدرت سوں سمجھے تجھکوں کوئي کیا
جسکو اوڑے دیوے راہ کہنا بھدی من بشا
کیا محمد جگ میں پیارا جستھیں سمجھي راہ
شیطاں مدعي بکڑیا بات کیوں کر سکیں جاہ
ظاہر باطن کا وہ دانا سکیا ھي سبحاں
سب پر شاہد مطلق بسا تجھدر لیہہ برھاں

گن آدم کا نہ ھات چڑھے رے کدوں کہنا انساں
صورت پر اعتبار نہ راکھیں جسے ھي حیواں
بلکہ ان بھي گمراہ کرنوں قرآں میں فرماں
لوکاں یہ سب کچ الادھي جن بوجھہ نکھوں لادھي
پنتھہ اکاس کا ونمکم ھاے حل کا مارگ میں
سادھو کا اب سادھو جانے دوجے کوئي نہیں چمن

سگلا عالم کیا ظہور * اپنے باطن کیرے ظہور
غفلت کیتا پردا آڑ * سب جگ لیتا اسمیں آڑ
بہوتوں خلق کیا بچار * بھولا سب جگ غفلت مار

کوئي کھیں سب عشق تمام
عشق کي انگھیں کیا ھے فھام

بعض آنکھیں ابھي بوجھہ
معلوم نھیں کچھہ اسکي سوجھہ

کانتا چھانتا بھل اور بھول
ساج برگ سب دیکھہ اصول

بندے سگلے ناوان
اللہ راکھے آپ پنھاں

یوں فرماے شاہ برھان
اسمیں آھے بعع اسماں

اللہ پاك منزہ ذات
اس سوں صفاں قائم سات

علم ارادت - قدرت - نار
سمنا - دیکھنا - بولنھار

ناوں ھے رموز الواصلیں
سالك پر دیکھہ آے یقین

تمت اس تھي کیا تمام
حق تھي بولیا حق کلام

رموز الواصلیں کھي بیاں
بندگي حضرت شاہ برھان

نك مرشد مستحق * در مستي مستغرق
وه صاحب توحيد * اور تجريد كا تفريد
اور خلوت كرے مدام * نه كس سوں اسكا كام
وه دوست حبيب الله * كي مرشد هادی الله
يو حاتم لكهيا بول * لهيك ديك معما كهول

عب تراكهيں هندي بول
معني سو چك دیکهه ڈهنڈول
جونگے موني سمندر سات
ڈابر ميں ہے لاگيں هات

The latter, Sultān Muhammad Quli Qutub Shāh of Golkunda, whose *Kulliyāt* in modified Dakhani Prakrit is preserved in the Āsifiyya Library, Hyderābād, Deccan, also played an important part in the development of Urdū.[1] Some verses, by way of sample, are reproduced as follows.

[2] رقيب كاهے كرتا هے هم سوں كچ بختاں
قبول ظلم و جفا هے جو آئے جانا تهے

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[1] *Vide* Maulānā 'Abdul Haq's Article on the life and works of this poet in the *Urdū Quarterly* dated January, 1922.

[2] These lines were specially copied for me from the Hyderabad codex by my esteemed friend Mr Muhammad Na'īm, B.A., LL.B (Alig.)

قطب شہ نہ دے حس دوانے کو پھل
دوانے کو کچھہ پھل دنا جاے نا

مسي کے ملک مس ھے جہانداني مىکھے
ھوناں کے دیکھن مس ھے مسلماني مىکھے

جو خمخانہ آھے بلا مىکھے مے
بنا حکومتي نا نڑا کور ھی

Similarly a good service was rendered by one Mullā Nūrī of A'zampūr, who was a companion and friend of Faizī. Of his works only one Hindī-Persian verse survives as follows

[1]ھر کس کہ خیانت کند البتہ بترسد
بیچارۂ نوری نہ کرے ھی نہ ترے ھی

These instances serve to show how rapid progress Urdū was making during the regime of Akbar. The association of Hindī element with Persian was becoming more common in upper Hindūstān. Also the poets in the Deccan and Gujarāt were admitting freely Persian and Arabic vocabulary in their metrical compositions.

Continued process of intermixture of Persian with Hindī and other Prakrits of the land gave rise to Urdū

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[1] This is quoted by Muhammad Qā'im Chāndpūrī in his Biographical notices of Urdū poets and is reproduced by Mīr Hasan Dehlevī in his *Tazkira-i-Shu'arā-i Urdū*, p. 198.

Some very good instances of Urdū prose in the form of spoken and written sentences have been discovered in the works written in the time of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzēb. Apart from a Hindi speech of the former, which is preserved in an unpublished document to be produced hereafter, there are sundry examples of mixed Hindi-Persian expressions which occur in private letters. Still more important is the frequent use of Hindi verb and phrases in Persian sentences noticed in the official letters written in the latter part of Shāh Jahān's reign, and will be dealt with when Parts IV and V will come to be written It was through this continued process of intermixture that an entirely new dialect, which may be termed as soft Hindi, sprang up, and finally became crystallized into what is called *Urdū*, the present *lingua franca* of India

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CHAPTER VI

INDIA COMPARED WITH PERSIA.

Style of Persian prose at the Mughal and the Safawī court

Some people are inclined to think that the flowery style at the Mughal court was initiated by the Indian writers. It is further alleged that this was a speciality of the Indian Courts. This idea now seems, perhaps more than it was a few years before, to be making impression upon European minds, for the persons responsible for expressing such views have a far-reaching and authoritative voice. Nevertheless, after reading sundry Persian and Indian authors, and subjecting their styles to a careful comparison, the alleged view seems to have no historical foundation. While admitting that there were certain initial and natural differences between the two, it could not be supposed that the Persian style did, in principle, widely differ from that of the Indian. On the other hand, it became apparent that the Indian style was essentially Persian, and was founded on the same model as obtained in or was brought from Persia. The only thing that could be said against the writers of the Indian camp, which was dominated by Persian influx, is that some of the writers of the Munshi class, during the 18th century, went a little too far in their attempts to excel their opponents in the show

of words and the use of subtleties; but to ignore the main fact that it was not the popular style, would be unfair and historically untrue It may also be noted that the '*offenders*' (the title given to such writers) were chiefly those who hailed from the principal seats of learning in Central Asia,[1] and Persia itself. Hence to condemn the one is to condemn the other, which is as much fallacious as it is to judge the taste of that age from the terse standard of the present day, when both the psychology of the people and the general surroundings have undergone a radical change.

Persia as a source of inspiration to India.

It was always the proud privilege of Persia, as has been repeatedly pointed out in these pages, to inspire the Indian scholar, and to maintain the requisite standard of taste at the Indian courts. Had not the Persian literate class continued to emigrate to India in ever-increasing numbers, due to whatever causes, the Indian scholar would have long been out of his Persian element. It was thus to an appreciable degree due to his keeping touch with the fresh bands of Persian emigrants, at every stage of intellectual advancement in Indian history, that he could keep pace with the Persian elite both in the standard of taste and the display of knowledge.

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[1] A good many scholars at the court of Akbar Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzeb, came from Herāt, Samarqand, Bukhara, and Mawarā-un-Nahr.

Among the historians, for instance, the style of Abul Fazl is nothing very different from the accredited style of Persian prose, except in certain minor points. In the Akbar Nāma, his style is diplomatic or showy[1], while that in his other works like the *Ruqqa'āt*, the *'Ayār-i-Dānish*, the *Tūti Nāma*, and the *Autobiography*, he has a literary style essentially that of a scholar or a classical writer.[2] The next approaching instance of classical writing (perhaps with a greater show of erudition) is that of 'Abdul Bāqi Nihawāndi author of the *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmi* Under the same category falls also that of Badāūni, Nizāmuddin Ahmad, and Farishta, which seemed to be more acceptable from the criterion of the Persian standard of the time.

Points of contrast between the Persian and the Indian style

The example of the average and simpler style is that of Bā Yazīd, Jauhar, and Gulbadan Bēgam.[3]

In the later Mughal period, we have the works of Jahāngīr, 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī, Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī, and Aurangzēb.

In the contemporary Persia, some parallels of the first category may be found in the works of Hasan Bēg Rūmlū, author of the

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[1] For detailed discussion on the style of *Akbar Nāma*, *vide* supra, pp 293 and 243, and the following (Chapter on Abul Fazl)

[2] For illustrations refer p 241 supra

[3] It is because they were of modest education, and had nothing to compare in point of erudition with Abul Fazl, Badāūni, 'Abdul Bāqi Nihāwandi, Farishta, and others, who could recall Persian poets, and had command of Arabic as well.

Ahsan-ut-Tawārīk; and Iskandar Munshī, the famous historian of the court of Shāh 'Abbās. Their styles are scholarly, and may be compared with those of Abul Fazl, 'Abdul Bāqi Nihāwandī, and others.

In later Persia, to match with the later Mughal period, we have, for instance, the *Nāsikhut Tawārīkh* of "Lisān-ul-Mulk" Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī of Khāshān also the famous biographical works: the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma-ul-Fusahā*, of Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, and Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet, who had their own views in judging individual styles, specially those of the Indian authors. Some specimens of respective styles, to illustrate the points of similarity or difference (?), are quoted below:

[1] Prof Browne quoting from Ahsan ut Tawārikh — Persian Literature in Modern Times, p 414

Also Cf, his remark

"All this could much better be said in one line"

سر بہار خاں معتمد اسقا جلو دہ

بیلاق ماودیہر نوراں بوصود

[2] Farishta, Vol II, p 181

This also, similarly, could be expressed in a few words as follows

آں قلعہ بر قلہ کوہی بلند واقع شدہ

[3] Akbar Nāma, Vol II, p 303

Note — This also, like the other two, could very well be condensed into four simple words or

در کلیور معلی آر استقد

در کلیور جشی ترتیب دادند

But with all this economical rendering, which is bereft of all ornament and grace (or verbosity' and 'bombast, according to Western interpretation), it must be noted that such plain-speaking would rather have offended the people than pleased them, and it is still, perhaps not permissible in literature in Persia itself, nor will it be welcomed in India

All these three styles bear so strong a resemblance to one another in essential features that it is hard to say which is which. All take delight in quoting verses, either their own or of other poets, in their prose narration so as to make it graceful. Of all the historians of the Indian camp in Akbar's time, the style of Farishta is peculiarly noteworthy. There is hardly an event described by him, which is not in the characteristic fashion, interspersed with appropriate verses. It appears that this was the style of all cultured Persians, and the same language was also used in official communications at the Safawī court. A few lines, by way of specimen, from the letter of Shāh Tahmāsp to Akbar, are quoted below.

نقلِ مکتوبِ شاہِ والا جاہ[1]

سلامٌ کالطاف الالہ المتکثر

سلامٌ کاخلاف النبی محمد

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol II, pp 170-1

Note -All this rhetoric could, likewise, be easily reduced to one simple sentence The long array of parallel words used with rhythmic force, and synonymous phrases, and poetical expressions, could either be simplified or done away with, without so to say, seriously affecting the purport of the letter But such a course was not considered proper in Persia itself

سلامے منور بنورِ صفا
سلامے معطر بعطرِ وفا
سلامے چو باراں کہ بر گل چکد
ز گل بر ورقہای سنبل چکد
کدورت زدا چوں گلِ دوستاں
مسرت فزا چوں رخِ دوستاں
سمیمش چو باغِ جناں معتدل
هم آسائشِ جاں هم آرام دل

تحفِ سلامے کہ از کمالِ وفاق و وفا عہدِ محبت و مؤدتِ موروثی را تازہ سازد و هدیۂ ثنا و دعا کہ از جانبِ صدق و صفا رابطۂ خصوصیتِ جانبین و علاقۂ وداد و ولاء مابین را میانِ عالم و عالمیاں بلند آوازہ گرداند از دیارِ محبت و یگانگی مصحوبِ قوافلِ شوق و آرزو مهدی با علیِ جنابِ سلطنت و جلالت پناہ خلافت و معدلت دستگاہ دورِ حدیقۂ سلطنت و کامرانی چراغ افروزِ دودمانِ عالیشانِ تیمور جانی در درجِ دولت و اقبال دری برجِ عظمت و اجلال نو باوۂ ریاضِ عظمت و تمکین دوحۂ حدائقِ آمالِ سلاطینِ عدالت آئین زبدۂ

اورنگ سلطنت و پادشاهی مظهرِ اسرارِ دامنناهیِ الهیِ خاقانِ کام بخش کامگار پادشاهِ دی شوکت عالی‌نثار...... رباعی

احترِ برجِ سعادت بدرِ اوجِ سرف
بر سریرِ پادشاهی کام بخش و کامیاب
باوجودِ طولِ عهد ار خسروان کس را نشد
انچه او را شد میسر اولِ عهدِ سباب

المؤیّد بالتائیدات العلیه من عبدالّٰله جلال السلطنه والسوکة والعزة و النصفه. من بعد در ارسالِ رسل و رسائل و اظهارِ خصوصیات و حالات و حکایات چنانچه مقتضای علاقهٔ محبت است مساهله بور زید......الخ

This letter unequivocally clears the air, and serves as a good evidence of the recognised value of rhetorical expressions in that age. It also shows the tasteful blending of Arabic speech with Persian, and the extent to which the latter should be ornate. As time went on, the liberality of the later Mughal rulers towards Persian poets declined, and in consequence of this, Prsian emigration to India also diminished. This

Causes of the ultimate loss of efficiency in the art of Persian composition in India

was one of the many factors responsible for the ultimate loss of efficiency in the art of Persian composition in India The growing scantiness of literary Persians, due to the dwindling patronage on the part of the Indian nobility, afforded every day less chance for the Indian writers to associate with Persians, and to keep themselves, as hitherto, acquainted with their style up to date

The period that begins roughly from the middle of the reign of Aurangzēb until the first signs of deadlock in the relations between Persia and India,[1] may be called the 'stagnation period.' The style of writing, as a whole, had not till then deviated far from the right path, though attempts were already begun to be made by certain writers to enter into frivolities of word and meaning[2]

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[1] Another cause of this estrangement of relations was the official recognition of Urdū as the court language under the British

[2] Cf, the writings of Ni'mat Khān i Ālī, Bē-dil, Irādat Khān Wāzih, and others, who went to the length of making their text an entire show of word and phrase The former in his historical work entitled 'Waqāi 'Ni'mat Khān i 'Ālī'' has adopted a style which is hardly appealing to a European scholar, and more so to a serious student of history although as an example of a particular taste it is not bad, being pleasantly humorous Irādat Khān's "*Mīnā Bāzār*" is a typical example of rhetorical composition that was followed subsequently by an average writer and is rightly considered to be a useless production Bē-dil in his "Ruqqa'āt" has endeavoured to make his meaning obscure rather than clear, owing to the overdone rhetoric and floridity, and thus has defeated the very object of his work

Ornate style of prose at the Persian Court

The style of later Persia also, like India, had become too ornate, and was adopted by responsible writers in their historical works as well as in the official communications at the court itself The following specimen from the collection of letters of Shāh ' Abbās II (written by his celebrated secretary, Mirza Tāhir Wahid) to various Persian officials and contemporary rulers in India Turkey, and Central Asia, will illustrate better the tendency of the Persian taste :

Letter to Aurangzeb

[1]حواهرِ رواهرِ نفایس نفس ار قماش ولآلیِ متلالیِ
سمانس لا تناهي اساس كه كفه رنان و میرانِ نیان
از کشیدنِ آن قاصر و نازوی توان ار تعقلِ آن فاتر
ناشد نثارِ سرای کبر نای مالك الملكي كه مقوسِ چرخِ
کبود ار شهرستانِ عظمت و جلال او کاهي و شجرهٔ بدیع
الازهارِ وجود ار گلشنِ وسیع الفضاے قدرتِ او شاخے
ست...... نظم

ساخته ار لطف بئي هاکنان
چار حدِ ناعچهٔ کن فکان
دیده ام اس ناغ پر ار رنگ و نو
یك گلِ رعناست شب و روزِ او

[1] *Inshā-i-Tāhir Wahīd*, p 17, Lucknow, 1873.
For further letters to the governors and Persian nobles, and rulers of Deccan, Turkey, and the Central Asian States, *Vide* pp 7, 10, 12, 45, 48, and 89, ibid

......بعد از حمد جناب کبریا و بسط بساط نعت
سید انبیا و منقبت زبدهٔ اصفیا بر مرآت ضمیر قدسی
تخمیر اعلی حضرت رفیع المنزلت گردون بسطت ......
ریاض همیشه بهار سلطنت گورکانی حدیقهٔ طراز
گلستان خلد نشان جهانبانی .سلطان اورنگ زیب
منطبع می گرداند که در موقت ارجمند و زمان سعادت
پیوند که به نیروی خالق انس و جان و جاعل مکین
و مکان اسباب کامیابی ، خوشدلی من جمیع الوجوه
آماده و ابواب فتوحات از شش جهت بر چهرهٔ اقبال
گشاده است بمبارکی مخبران صدق آئین مژدهٔ جلوس
آن گوهر فروزان بحر بسالت و سخاوت...الخ

This is only an extract from the original letter which is too long and keeps up the same tone throughout. In the whole collection there is not a single communication which, like the above, is not excessively ornate. The striking point is that their rhetoric, in the shape of figurative language and the lengthiness of sentences, defies Abul Fazl, and goes one step further than him in tautology and affectation. The author in his grand phraseology and rhymed diction follows in the footsteps of Zuhūri, and closely copies the style of his three prose works

entitled the '*Seh Nasr.*'[1] Among subsequent Persian writers, even people like Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, and Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet, in their biographical works, the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma-'ul-Fusahā*, have at times entered into a flood of rhetoric, which is more irksome than Abul Fazl's The following is a quotation from Rizā Qulī Khān's work :

شمالي د هسمايي حراسادي[2]

حکیمی دوده سخنگوی و ندیمی نکتگوی شمال
طبعش را روح افزای نفس عیسی و خامهٔ دسمس را
اثر عصای موسی با ادب صابر معاصر . الخ

This is, so to speak, a sham revival of Zuhūrī who is not, however, approached in point of elegance and harmony of thought. The author of the *Ātashkada* has, likewise, adopted a highly ornate style in a long introduction to his work. The follow-

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[1] It is to be noted that this was written in India, and was not a serious work at all like the Persian official letters It was undertaken by the author solely with the object of extolling Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, as well as to make a display of his knowledge By its composition, he instituted an entirely new school in the art of ornate prose-writing, and had subsequently so many followers and disciples both in Persia and India, like Mullā Tughra Mashhadī, Mirzā Tāhir Wahīd Qazwīnī, Ni'mat Khān i 'Alī, and others

[2] *Majma-'ul-Fusahā*, p 309

ing extract, where he is supposed to be simple, as declaring to give an essence of what he had written before, in brief words, will show the trend of his diction :

خلاصهٔ مقالِ سوختهٔ آتشِ عشق... لطف علی[1]
... چنین گوید که از آغازِ عهدِ صبی که باغبانِ عشق
نخلِ وجودم را در باغِ وفا پرورده و از سر دستیِ یارانِ
مخیم نه نشو و نما آورده بار غمه رسته از دامانِ مادرِ ناعوسِ

---

[1] *Atashkada*, p 5

It might be noted that he even divided his work, which he named the *Atashkada*, (Fire-temple) into censer, flame, spark, and glow, in place of the common divisions like books, chapter, sections, etc , Cf

مجمرهٔ اول در ذکر اطوار و اشعار شعرای متقدمین مشتمل بر یک شعله و سه اخگر و یک فروغ -

| Ibid, p 7 |

In the body of the text, there appeared little room for his rhetoric owing to the fact that he filled up his work almost entirely with the verses of poets, and himself had very little to say about them, usually in one or two lines, and in special cases only But even then he could not altogether avoid the use of flowery language here and there, as may be seen from the following wherein he describes a certain poet Mu'tli of Tabriz, who had written a *qasida* in complaint of the governor of that province, who was disliked by the people

مایلی . اهلِ آن دیار از وی شاکی و قصیدهٔ مولانا مزبور ازین مطلب حاکی الخ

(Ibid ,p. 398.)

پدر را نیافتم و به حکم پدر بخدمت استاد شتافتم تا از
شفقت استاد چشم از نامه روستائی و دستم بخامه
آشنائی یافت -

Taste of the Safawī and the later Persia, and their views on styles

We have thus seen that the Safawī period,, which stands a contrast with that of the Mughal in India, indirectly contributed a great deal towards the growth and standardisation of florid style, which continued to be popular with all grades of writers even after the overthrow of the Safawī and the coming to power of the Qajar dynasty in Persia. It is important to notice the views expressed from time to time, with regard to styles, by the learned scholars who held positions as Munshīs and poet-laureates at the Safawī court, and to compare them with those of some later Persian biographers. A few noteworthy instances are as follows The author of the *Ātashkada*, for example, in his notices of Zuhūrī does not approve his style, nor thinks his poetical merit deserving of any appreciative consideration or value .

[1] مدتها در هندوستان بوده و مثنوی در بحر
تقارب مشهور به 'ساقی نامه' گفته که در نظر فقیر
حسن زیاده ندارد اما بمصاحب مشهور شده -

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[1] *Ātashkada*, p 97. [Also, refer p 198 supra]

> For long periods he stayed in India, and composed a *masnawi* in the *taqārub* metre, better known as the *Sāqī Nāma*, which in my sight does not possess much beauty, although it became famous for its eloquence.

As against this view 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī declares as follows

> [1]زباندانے مثل او ندیده سخنورے مانند
> وی شنیده از فهم تراکیب نفایس هرکس
> را نصیب نه و از دقایق بلاغت کلامش هر کونه
> اندیشه را حصه نیست الخ.

> A master of language like him is not seen, a possessor of speech (an eloquent) as he, is not heard of To understand the elegance

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[1] *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B M MSS , Add 16,729, fol 281b

Note — It should be observed that Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar and 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī were contemporaries, and their periods almost coincided with each other, so that it cannot be argued that Lutf 'Alī Beg's Persia was any different from that of Dāghistānī The latter had, during Nādir Shah's rise to power in Persia, fled to India, but it should not be supposed that he was on that account partial to poets at the Indian courts On the contrary, he proceeded very cautiously with them, and selected only a few out of the many whom he rejected as unworthy of notice. (*Vide* Preface to the same) His pronouncements are therefore, those of a dispassionate critic, and not indiscriminate like his contemporary.

of his discourse is not the lot of every one; and to grasp the subtleties of his eloquent diction is not the share of every one whose vision is narrow.

Also, Iskandar Munshi, the author of the *'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsī*, in his notices of Zuhūrī and Qumī under "Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh," observes as follows.

[1] مولانا ملک قمی و مولانا ظهوری... نور
شعرای زمان وسخن پردازانِ روزگار و ممتازِ
اقران بودند

Maulānā Malik Qumī and Maulānā. Zuhūrī . . . . were the lustre of the poets of the age, and the eloquent of the day, and figured prominent among their contemporaries.

So too Sā'ib, the poet-laureate of the court of Shah 'Abbās, had thought, and felt proud to acknowledge inspiration from Zuhūrī's poetry

[2] صائب نداشتیم سرو برگ این غزل
این فیض از کلامِ ظهوری بما رسید

Sā'ib, we did not possess the requisite material for this *ghazal*,
This benefit accrued to us from the verses of Zuhūrī.

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[1] *Vide* supra, p 267
[2] Ibid.

A similar instance of the *Ātashkada's* judgment of Abū Tālib Kalīm, the poet-laureate of the court of Shāh Jahān, is worth noticing :

[1]مدتے در همدان مي بود عرض آخر الامر
بهندوستان رفته و سالها در انجا در خدمت
شاهجهان بسر مي برده از هر قسم شعر دارد
لیکن در مثنوی و قصیده و رباعي شعرے که قابل
باشد ندارد -

For a time he was in Hamadān At last he went over to India, and lived there for years in the service of Shāh Jahān He possesses all sorts of verses, but in *masnawī*, *qasīda*, *rubā'ī*, he does not possess a single verse which is worthy.

As against this opinion, his contemporary, 'Alī Qulī Wālih, observes as follows

[2]در عهدِ جهانگیر بادشاه بهندوستان در
اردوی بادشاهِ مزبور بسر مي کرد ... تا آنکه
در زمانِ شاهجهان ملك الشعرای هندوستان

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[1] *Ātashkada*, p 330

It is to be noted that of all the principal kinds of poetry only '*ghazal*' is generously spared from the sweeping condemnation

[2] *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B M MSS., Add 16,729, fol 385a

گرديد اگرچه در علوم کم مادة است ليکن در
شاعري قدرت تمام داشة واقسامِ شعر را خوب
مي گفة..... ع 'طورِ معني بود روشن ا کلمم' -
تاريخِ وفاتِ اوست -

In the reign of Jahāngīr, he came to India, and lived as a soldier in the army of that king, till he became the poet-laureate of India in the time of Shāh Jahān. Although in sciences his capital is small, but in poetry he had complete power, and composed all kinds of verses beautifully. "The light of the *Sīnā'ī* of meaning was from *Kalīm*," is the date of his death.

Similar instances of Rizā Qulī's judgment of poets can be cited In the following he reviews 'Urfī:

اسمش سيد محمد مدتے بسعرِ هندوستان[1]
رفتة و باز گشتة ...ديوانش مکرر بنظر رسيدة سپاي
اشعارش پسنديدة اهالي اين عهد نيست -

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[1] *Majma'ul Fusahā*, p 24

No other Persian or Indian biographer has endorsed this judgment Even the author of the *Ātashkada* shuddered from expressing such a view, and had to praise 'Urfī's sublimity of thought and his excellences as a poet.

Also, the statement that 'Urfī returned to Persia is not correct He remained in India since his first arrival, and never went back, except after his death, when his grave was dug and his bones carried from Lahore to Najaf, in strange fulfilment of his own prophecy which he had made in his lifetime [*vide* supra, p. 179]

> His name is Sayyid Muhammad. For a time he went on his travel to India, and came back. His '*dīwān*' was seen by me twice. The trend of his verses is not liked by the people of this period.

Again, the same view is taken of Sā'ib's poetry His style was first disapproved by the *Ātashkada*, and subsequently by the *Majma'ul-Fusahā*, which eagerly copied the wordings of his predecessor .

> [1] او بهندوستان رفته و باز آمده...... خوش اخلاق
> بود بارے در طریقِ شاعری طرزے عجب داشتہ
> کہ اکنون پسندیدہ نیست با آنکہ صد ہزار
> بیت دیوان دارد ناچار بدین چند بیت
> اکتفا رفت -

> He went to India and came back. He was of gentle and pleasing manners, but in the path of poetry he had curious style which is not liked now. In spite of the fact that he has a poetic collection of 100,000 verses, reluctant (to speak) to these few verses I confined myself

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[1] Ibid . p 23

(۲) *Ātashkada*

در مراتب سخن گستری طرز خاصی دارد که مباهتی بقدما و متقدمین ندارد، با آنکه با قصیده و رباعی میلی نداشته دیوانش قریب بیکصد هزار بیت ملاحظه شده، و بعد از مراعات بسیار این چند بیت انتخاب شد -

The popularity of Sā'ib as a poet, in Persia, India, Central Asia, and Turkey, was unsurpassed by any other poet of Persian language of his day. The very fact that after his return from India he was appointed poet-laureate at the court of Shāh 'Abbās II, is an eloquent testimony to his capabilities and recognition in Persia. He came as a reformer, and the promulgator of '*misāliya*' (or proverbial) poetry 'Ali Quli Wālih writes thus:

[1] ار شعرای عالي مقدار...... و در طرزِ خود

امامِ فن بود......الخ

He was of a high order of poets, and in his style was the *Imām* of the art of poetry

The disapprobation of the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma'ul Fusahā* is sweeping in the case of poets who came down to India. Those who remained in Persia were abundantly praised although they stood no comparison with poets like Faizi, 'Urfi, Zuhūri, Sā'ib, and others. In certain cases the critics shrewdly observed silence as to poetical merits, but picked up other things which least concerned them A good instance is that of their examination of Faizi. While both speak not a word as to his poetical merit, the latter takes up Faizi's *Tafsir* of

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[1] *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B M MSS., Add 16,729, fol 285a.

the Qur'ān, and comments on it as being useless and a labour lost.[1]

In the light of such criticism of all first-grade poets who were distinguished in particular branches of poetry, and were gifted with variety of styles, which have been disapproved by the authors of the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma'ul Fusahā*, under the plea that they were not liked by the Persians in that age, one is at a loss to make out what style was then liked by them! The real depth of the critics' remarks, though not yet adequately measured, their rectitude is, however, shown as dubious in the light thrown by other Persian biographers and poets, both of the later and the contemporary Persia. The one harm done was that some English historians too, relying on such weak evidence, took a narrow view of the part played by India in the uplift of Persian language, in general, and its contribution to poetry in particular. To dispel this notion and to determine India's right place, has been the chief object of this work; and the efforts made at the Deccan and the Mughal courts are contrasted with those of the comtempora ry Persia, which coincided with the Safawi period, under the patronage of their respective kings.

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[1] *Cf*:

شیخ فیضی را کلمات است مسجع الفاظ که نیمهٔ قرآن مجید
را بی نقطه تفسیر کرده کاری بیحاصل کرده

[*Majma'ul Fusahā*, p. 26.]

A distinguished orientalist thought an Indian scholar not quite competent as a judge of Persian poetry, and compared him with a Frenchman who having "learned English entirely from books, without being able either to speak it or to understand it when spoken, sat in judgment on Byron and Tennyson."[1] The very premises being defective, the conclusions drawn are *prima facie* wrong The fallacies are : first, the long-continued and close association of Persia with India and their scholars' intimate relationship with each other for centuries past, through social ties and pre-Mughal and Mughal patronage, hardly justified the comparison of an Indian scholar with a Frenchman of that standard.

An English Orientalist on Indian appreciation of Persian poetry.

Second, the product of poets like Amir Khusrau, Khwāja Hasan, and Faizī; and among Persian emigrants, Nazīrī, 'Urfī, Zuhūrī, Malik Qumī, Ghizālī, Khwāja Husain Mervī, Qāsim Kāhī, Tālib Āmulī, Sā'ib, Kalīm, and others, who perfected their poetry in the poetical atmosphere obtained at the Indian courts, were recognised as accomplished poets all over Persia and Central Asia.

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[1] Prof Browne, Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 226-7.

Note —This idea was taken from P. G. Hamerton's Intellectual Life, and hurled against Indian scholars as follows.

"Transform this Frenchman into an Indian or a Turk, and substitute 'Persian' for 'English' and 'Qā'āni' for 'Byron and Tennyson, and the above remarks admirably apply to most Turkish and Indian appreciations of Persian poetry."

Third, Persian was, for centuries, held as the court language of India, and became almost the native tongue of the Indian Musalmans, and the medium of expression in all their literary, historical, and otherwise writings. Also, the language in which they conversed, all the twenty-four hours, with their Persian associates, and their own people, was Persian.

The remark of the learned critic thus, judged on its own merit in the light of the historical data supplied, has no justification, and apparently breaks down under the test of reality. It might, possibly apply to certain orientalists other than the Indians, who, reading Persian poets in their alien dress, through translations only, sat in judgment on Faizi, and other leading poets of the Mughal court.[1]

Critical appreciation of poetry in India, and Persia.

The critical survey by Indian scholars of Persian poets merits comparison with that of any Persian critic of the highest order. A good many instances can be cited of Badāūni, Faizi, Abul Fazl, and others, who, in their review of poets, selected only such verses as could worthily be produced as their best specimens. To contrast their selection with that of the Persian biographers, the following illustrations will suffice. Lutf 'Ali Bēg Āzar, and Badāūni, both in their selections of Zuhūri, quote

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[1] *Vide supra*, p. 50.

certain verses from his lyric poetry. Those of Luft 'Ali Beg Āzar are :

[1]دیگران تا مها ازو دارند
اینکه ما را نکرده یاد بس است

بطفلي خدمت پيري نكرده ايم
نه پيري خدمت طفلي ضرور است

ره گم نکرده ناقه و گلگون ز پا نماند
اصلي نبوده مثنوي اينها حكايت است

قصدِ خود مي كنم از خجلتِ قاصد هردم
كاين چنين از نظر افتاده پيغامِ من است

دشمن بغلط اسير گشته است
بندش نگشا كه بيگناه است

تركِ همصحبتي اهلِ هوس مرد كند
من ندانم چه بگويم كه ترا درد كند

بخاك تربتم افتاده كار ومي ترسم
كه در رهِ تو برآيد بسنگ پاي كسي

As against these, Badāūni selected only one verse which is as follows :

[2]ظهوري شكوه ات از يار بيجاست
تو بي طالع فتادي جرمِ او چيست

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[1] *Ātashkada*, p 97

[2] Badāuni, Vol III, Account of Zuhūri, p. 270.

From this it can be seen clearly how far Badāūnī was behind (?) or ahead of Lutf 'Alī Bēg in his selection of Zuhūrī.

Again, the same critics, in their selection of Malik Qumī, give only one verse, a comparison of which readily reveals their respective tastes and their power of judgment :

[1] خوبچکاسب ملک بیع ستم می ترسم
که بی آخر بدر خانهٔ قاتل برود

[2] رفتم که خار از پا کشم محمل نهان شد از نظر
یک لحظه غافل گشتم و صدساله راهم دور شد

Here, too, Badāūnī stands out pre-eminent, and his selection keeps our Persian judge at a respectable distance.

Similarly, Abul Fazl's selections of Ghizālī, Faizī, 'Urfī, and others, and Lutf 'Alī Bēg's and Rizā Qulī Khān's selections of the same poets, create the same impression. In all such cases, which

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[1] *Ātashkada*, p 317
It may be noted that Lutf Alī Bēg in quoting this verse under Qumī, also mentions that in India it was commonly attributed to Malik Qumī, but a certain Persian poet Malik Taifūrī claimed it to be his own composition, and for that special object sent a messenger to the poet in *Deccan*

[2] Badāūnī, Vol III, p. 334
This verse has been chiefly selected by the author as Qumī's best verse, and is not mixed with his other verses. Cf., the statement

و از بهترین اشعار وی مرقوم شد این بیت است

have been closely examined, it can strongly be asserted that both these Persian biographers improved nothing on their Indian predecessors Abul Fazl and Badāūni. On the contrary, the selections of the latter contain some very best verses which are omitted by the Persian authors, and are replaced by some very inferior ones which do no credit to the poets. Not only the Indian scholar's judgment was a worthy one, but that their patrons too were equally good critics, and successfully reviewed Persian poets [1]

تمت بالخیر

حاصلِ عمر نثارِ رهِ یارے کردم

شادم از زندگیِ خویش که کارے کردم

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[1] Cf Akbar's criticism of Tālib, and Fughāni and improving on their verses [vide supra, p 25]
Also cf , Humāyūn's criticism of Jahi Yatmiyān of Bukhāri, and Hairati of Māwarā-un-Nahr [Vide Pt. II *Humāyun* pp 24-25]

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The Persian text of Zuhūrī's **Seh Nasr,** *produced here, has been collated with several valuable MSS found at the Habībganj Library of Nawab Sadr Yar Jang Bahādur, the State Library of H H the Nawāb of Rāmpūr, and the Āsī Press Library, Lucknow It is much to be hoped that its publication together with an English translation will largely benefit the students of the Indian Universities, and will also prove helpful to those interested in the study of classical Persian*

و بنوازنده که بمفتاح نغمه در نوازش بروی سامعان کشاده که تا دفتر
توصیفش اندازهٔ قلم هیچ بدیع رقم نیست و شدّ قانون تعریفش حدّ نفس
هیچ خجسته دم نے۔ همگنان را بمساعدت بخت سعادت بساط بوسی روزی
باد تا فراخور فطنت و فطرت خود بهره مند و محظوظ گشته بر حقیقت حال و
صدق مقال مطلع گردند۔ بتقریب این دعا یاد آمد که اطناب را از او بست۔
بزمزمهٔ دعائے اختتام دم نوازش اثر اهتمام واجب و لازم دانست۔
فقرات دعائیه. تا از کاسهٔ طنبور خورشید تار شعاعی در دمیدن است
نسیم نغمه از [illegible] مجلس خدایگانے در وزیدن باد و تا بر قانون سخن
تار [illegible] نواختهٔ مضراب زبان است ترانهٔ ثنائے جهانبانی ذخیرهٔ کام
و زبان جهانیان باد۔ **قطعه**

تا بمعنی به لفظ جنگ قانون آورند | لفظ پردازان معنی ساز در بزم بیان
باز با نشئه بصید ملک رنگین جنگ با | تار چنگ رشته [illegible] باد از سخن در امان
هم به آهنگ ستایش نغمهٔ قانون به | هم بوفق مدعایش رسم و قانون جهان

مصرع:- زین دعا ها بر جانت منت بسیار باد

بیت

چہ در کمالات اے خرد پہنا ببین　　کم زرشحے پیشِ آن دریا ببین

چون صفتِ بے نیازی خاصۂ کردگار است و سایۂ کردگار را اگر احتیا
هست نیست اِلّا بحریفانے کہ درخورِ کیفیت و چاشنیِ خود شرابِ سخن و نقلِ
نغمہ برایشان بپیماید و باندازۂ عقول در اندازہا لب ہم زبانی کشاید۔ خوشا
ذوق چمن طبعے کہ بدرکِ نکاتِ رنگینش رنگِ فہمیدن بر چہرہ تواند بست و
زہے سبکروحے کہ ببالِ اہتزاز مرغِ دلش بر شاخسارِ نغمہاے نازک
تواند نشست۔ چہ دشوار است بر قائلِ بلند سخن با سامع کوتاہ دریافت
ساختن۔ و سخنِ والا رتبہ را بالضرورت از پایۂ خود انداختن مثلِ حال جوہر
فروش و نقاشے است کہ یکے در شکستنِ گوہر گرانبہا دل سخت کند تا مشتری
تنک مایہ دست ہیچ تواند داد و دیگرے قلمِ نزاکت رقم از تیزی پرداز
تاہ بصر کند نظر چشم تماشا تواند کشود۔ چون صفحاتِ خواطرِ خاص و عام
زیرِ مشق خامۂ او ہام است آنانکہ بتماشاے مجلسِ بہشت آئین آئین نگاہ و
سماع نہ بستہ اند و عید و نوروز جز چشم و گوش ندانستہ و عقلِ مصور و روحِ
مجسم ندیدہ و لآلیِ کلامِ معجز نظام در درجِ گوشِ ہوش نچیدہ اند گمان
برند کہ این ستایش از مقولۂ ستایشِ دیگر مداحانست کہ در مدحِ ممدوحِ
خود مبالغہا نی کنند و قطرہ و ذرۂ ایشان را منبعِ دریا و مطلعِ آفتاب
میدانند۔ اگرچہ صدقِ مقالِ ظہوری ظہورے دارد اما بر رفعِ این مظنہ
قسم یاد میکند۔ بنگارندہ کہ بریحانِ خطِ خوبان مشک را بر نسرین برات دادہ

کز کلکِ حک و قلمِ اصلاح نشده بود سطر سطر و صفحہ صفحہ بخوے خجالت شستند و آنچہ
از زبانِ معجز بیان شنیدند نوشتہ خود را درین شرح نویسی بمثابہ خامۂ خود آلتِ
تحریرانگاشتند۔ غرضکہ ہم متانتِ متن از ہمہ دانی او و ہم انشراح شرح
از شگفتہ بیانی او۔ **قطعہ**

ادب آموزِ نکتہ اندوزند　　گر عراقی و گر خراسانی
کو فلاطون کہ با ہمہ فطنت　　تہ کند زانوے سبق خوانی

اینکہ خود بہ نفسِ نفیس توجہ بر تحریرِ دیباچہ نفرمودہ اند فوائد و اغراض
منظور و ملحوظ است۔ آرے بدفعِ گزندِ عین الکمال با عقدِ لآلی شاہوار
خز فی ناچار است و فضاے جانفزاے باغ و بوستان را خار و خسے در کار۔
کافور در جنبِ قیر کشیدن و شکر بعد از حنظل چشیدن حکمت است۔ و فی الحقیقۃ
ترقیمِ دیباچہ ہم بفیضِ تعلیما تیست کہ بتقریبات فرمودہ اند کہ غنور را باید
کہ اول ملاحظۂ نشستِ سخن نماید۔ چہ بسا عبارت باشد کہ لفظے دران زیادہ
و کم نکنند و بہ اندک تقدیمے و تاخیرے معنی بسر فرازیِ دیگر بر کرسی لفظ
نشیند۔ و برچیدنِ سنگریزۂ لفظِ درشت از راہِ سخن کہ آسیب بپاے اسپِ
بیان نرسد امر کردہ اند۔ انتاریکی و باریکی الفاظ کہ دست و پاے خرد
راہ بمعنیِ آن نیابد نہی فرمودہ اند۔ و امثالِ آن سخنہا کہ در استماع افتاد۔
بپالایشِ ذہنش مہیِ مستفیدان صاف و حلقۂ شاگردیش بہ بوے گوش
اہلِ انصاف۔ الحاصل اگر گلے تحفۂ بہار شود ہم از بہار است و اگر دُرے
نثارِ دریا گردد ہم از دریاست۔

رسید از دادرس شاہ سخن رس | بفرمادِ نفسہا نقشِ نورس
بفرمانِ حق و طبع بفرمان | سخن را کرد پیکر نغمہ را جان
رو پژمردگی بر تازگی بست | چہ نقشے در بلند آوازگی بست
بخورشید درخشان پرتوے داد | نوی را طرفہ تشریفِ نوی داد
سخن پاسِ شکوہ وشانِ خود داشت | کہ د بوانِ شہ ایوانِ خود داشت
کشتہ صد داستان ہر صفحہ در لب | ورق را گر زنند انگشت بر لب
سطور از رشتہ آواز دارد | ورق از پردہاے ساز دارد
حروفش در ورقہا جملہ ہم پشت | کہ ننہد ہیچکس بر حرفش انگشت
نوی میبال گو خوش فارغ البال | کہ نورس تنگی را کرد پامال
خدا پیرایہ بخشد از قبولش | مصون دارد ز ...ہر فضولش

ار نجا کہ عواطفِ خسروانہ و مراحمِ پادشاہانہ شاملِ حالِ دور و
...ست اہلِ عراق و خراسان را از ذوقِ این محروم نخواست د
ست کہ اینن نسخہ را سیر عجم اتفاق افتد تا بہ یکِ معنیش ہر روز ہ
روزے کنند فرمان واجب الاذعان عزِ صدور یافت کہ استادگان
سر بہ طلافت مصیر عرش نظیر نقدِ قابلیت و استعدادِ خود را بپاسے
امتحان آوردہ شرح بلفظ مجمل و معنی مفصل بردارند و بعضے قیود مبنی
طلمات مرقوم سازند - باوجود آنکہ بتلاشِ اقیاز در موشگافیہا نہایت
بکار رفت ہنگام عرضِ سخن از تغیرِ الفاظ و تبدیلِ عبارات و تصرفات
بجا آوردن حقِ ادا عدیم السہوا یکہ صفوۂ انشاے شان ہرگز آشناے

رباعی

از شاہِ دکن جہان نشاط آباد است　　خاکِ غم از آبِ نغمہ اش برباد است
اربابِ ترانۂ کہنہ شاگردانند　　آنکس کہ از و نو شدہ طرز استاد است

وجہ تسمیہ این کتاب آنکہ

ہندیان نہ شیرۂ مجتمع را نورس میگویند و فارسیان اگر نورس نہالِ فضل و کمالش دانند بجاست و باین معنی کہ این شاہدِ بے عیب از پردۂ غیب بجلوہ گاہِ ظہور نو رسیدہ نورس خوانند ہم رواست ۔ ع

قیاس مسمیٰ ازین اسم گیر

فضاے دیدن بصفحاتش گلشن و سوادِ خواندن ۔ بیاضش روشن ۔ ہر صفحہ چمنے و ہر سطرے نخلے ۔ برگش لفظ دلکش ۔ بارش معنی بیغش ۔ بلبلِ فصاحت برگل نزاکت تحریر در تقریر و نظر ِ نظارگیان از موجِ رطوبت عبارتِ روان در زنجیر ۔ سنبل حرفش از آہ ناشکیبان ۔ بنفشۂ نقطہ اش از خالِ رنگ بیان ۔ از رشحِ طراوت کلمات نہر سطر مالا مالِ آب حیات ۔ خضر تشنہ لب سیرابی او ۔ مسیحا مردہ جان تشنگی مو ۔ نکتہ ہاے برجستہ مضمونہا مربستہ ۔ رنگینی بشقائقی در کار ۔ شگفتگی بشیہ ہی بہ بار ۔ مثنوی

رہ رنگینیش گل درغا رہ جوئی　　زسیرابیش گل در تازہ روئی
مگو نورس کہ فردوسِ برین است　　نہ تنہا خلق رضوان ہم برین است
ز نفسان تواند ساخت گلزار　　کہ چیند چون خلیل از نار گلنار

عروسے بود از پیرایہ عاری — زبختِ پستِ خود در شرمساری
کنونش آسمان پائے بوس است — سراپا گردن وگوشِ عروس است
لآلی حقۂ پروین سپند است — خیالِ شاہِ والا بس بلند است
زشاگردیش استادان سخن ساز — نزاکت را زطبعش ناز بر ناز
حلاوت چاشنی گیر از بیانش — بشیرینی مؤظف از زبانش
چنان شیرین کند ہر حرفِ حنظل — کہ شیرینی کند در گوشہا تل
بر آن سنگینی از کاہ آورد یاد — کہ کوہ از بارِ رشک آمد بفریاد
نسازد لفظِ گل در گفتگو درج — نسازد تا در وصد رنگ و بو خرج
بجامِ شوق گردد بادہ پیما — دہد در قطرہ سرِ طوفانِ دریا
بحرف آورد ترکیبش شنا را — متانت گشتہ آلہ این بنا را
سخن از فکر حفظِ مرتبت ہست — ز ترتیبش بجائے خویش بنشست
برو گر عیب بین چشمے کشاید — و گر زو جز ہنر بینی نیابد

و از جملہ حقوقے کہ بر اصحابِ عقل و فرہنگ و اربابِ نغمہ و آہنگ ثابت و لازم ساختہ آنست کہ بترتیب و تسویدِ کتاب نورس پرداختہ و سامعہ و ناطقہ را بخواندن و شنیدنِ آن نواختہ و التزام این نمودہ کہ چنانچہ تازگیِ معانی طراوت بہ الفاظ بخشیدہ نوِ نغمات نقشہائے کہ برین اشعار زنار بستہ شد منقۂ اثر بر دلہا کوبد و بیادِ نفسِ گویندگان گرد غمہائے نو و کہن از زوایائے خاطرِ شنوندگان روبد۔

بتلافی آن کشاده - تمناے اربابِ ہنر بہ پیرایهٔ التفاتش معشوقِ حصول و
از اہلِ استعداد نکتهٔ بکتابے و گلے بگلزارے قبول - خارِ راهِ ہنر درپائی کہ
خلیده کہ شگفتگیِ مرحمتش باغ باغ گلِ مراد نچیده و تلخیِ مشقتِ کسبِ کمال
کہ چشیده کہ بچاشنیِ رافتش مصر مصر شکر بکام در نکشیده و در ہیچ چیز حسن ہنر
پنهان نگردید کہ تمیزش آشکارا بہ آن عاشقی نورزیده - اگر از تحریکِ باد
موجهٔ آب بہ ہنجاری تحریر ریز است یا از جلوهٔ آتش دخانی مرغوله انگیز بہ تعریف
این گرم نفس است و بتوصیف آن تر زبان - اگرچه بسببِ عادلیت وادِ اقسام
ہنر داده و میدهد سبحان الله در فنِ سخن چها پرداخته و می پردازد - ہر چه
درمیان نهادهٔ ذہنِ نقادش از زیورِ قبول برکران وانچه نسنجیدهٔ طبعِ
وقادش از سبکی بخاطر گران - بالغ کلامانِ مدرسهٔ سخن طفلانِ مکتبِ
زباندانیش و شهسوارانِ میدانِ بیان پیادگانِ عرصهٔ نکته رانیش - گاه
تفصیلش قطره منبعِ دریاے بیکران و وقتِ اجمالش ذرهٔ مغربِ آفتابِ
درخشان - آوازهٔ صوماء بلاغتش دیرهٔ گوشِ فصاحت و شورِ شیرینیِ گفتارش
نمکِ مائدهٔ ملاحت - نقطهٔ خامهٔ ابهامش مهرِ گنجینهٔ اسرار و شعشعهٔ شعلهٔ
توضیحش صیقلِ آئینهٔ اظهار - کامِ سخن در شکر افتاده شیرینیِ ادا - گردنِ
صیدِ معنی در کمندِ اندازِ رساییده امید جا بجا بر جنبشِ لبِ بشارت و
سند تحریک دهد - لطفِ ابروے شارت - نشرت شرهٔ رفعت و شعرش
شعریِ مرتبت - بہ حرفش فصلے و ہر فرعش اصلے - مثنوی

سخت رسا خاطر بود کوہے ... نبودش صد حب صد شکوہے

تارِ طنبور بعلاجِ علیل نهادان در مسیحائی - خطِ بندگیِ خطش در بغل چهرهٔ لاله رویان و تار دانِ سازش بر دوشِ طرهٔ مرغوله مویان - با توقیعِ خامهٔ عنبر شمامه اش عطارد را چه چاره جز سر بر خطِ فرمان نهادن - بمشاهدهٔ شاهد پردهٔ سازش زهره را چه زهره غیر از پرده بدر افتادن - قلمش ماشطهٔ صفحهٔ دهر - رقمش مناشخِ چهرهٔ مهر -

مثنوی

زخطش سرمه پرور چشمِ دیدن ... ز سازش حلقه در گوشِ شنیدن
بفرقِ تاجِ او سوگند خورشید ... به تارِ سازِ او پیوند ناهید
چکد چون خامه بر دارد به انشا ... عطارد در دواتش قطره آسا
عروسِ صفحه را خطش نگاریست ... حروفش گرچه هر یک خود نگاریست
نقط بر حرفهایش دانه چیداست ... چنین دامِ نگه گیری که دیداست
کمر چون در فنِ صورتگری بست ... قلم از طرهٔ حور و پری بست
ز نقاشی برنگی چهره آراست ... که نقشِ ساده اش چینِ رونما خواست
اگر بلبل کشد آواز بشنو ... دهد آواز را پرواز بشنو
نگیرد طائرش بر صفحه آرام ... نسازد گر بپایش مهرِ خود دام
ز گلچینانِ باغش فصلِ خورداد ... شگفته غنچه‌ها از جنبشِ باد
چو او کس صورتِ معنی نه پرداخت ... بدعوی لیک چون مانی نه پرداخت
هنر گو خنده‌ها بر لب به انبار ... ز اشکِ غم بن مژگان بیفشار
هنر پروری گو در عزیزی ... که آخر شد زمانِ بی تمیزی

انچه تا غایت روزگار مضایقه در کم هنری نهاده کرمم زیاده بخشش دست

بشراب خم مندل سرمست۔ بپاکوبیِ اصول و دستک زنیِ تال تارکِ اندوہ و ملال پائمال و بنغمہاے نقشِ نورس فضاے کہن سراے جہان از نشاط مالا مال۔ **ابیات**

زبس در نغمہ انگیزیست ایام | سزد رقصد اگر در گور بہرام
تدر و نغمہ بر لب آشیان ساخت | ترنم خانہ در کام و دہان ساخت
بشہرے مرغِ دلہاراست آہنگ | کہ از بام و درش میرو ید آہنگ
ہوا را از امتزاج نغمہ آن حال | کہ مو سیقار ساز و مرغ را بال
زبانہا از شرابِ نغمہ سرمست | نفسہا پاے کوبان دست بر دست
خموشی را برآوردہ بآواز | بہ نورس شہر بارِ نغمہ پرداز
گراکسیرِ سرور و سور سازند | زخاکِ پاک بیجا پور سازند

اگر بہ رسوم جہانبانی و قواعد گیتی ستانی و ترتیبِ رزم و بزم و رعایت عزم و حزم کہ آیتے است در شان او و تشریحے است بر قدِ او کما ینبغی قیام و اقدام نماید چہ عجب عجب آنست کہ در ہر فن مثل ساز و خط و تصویر کہ و فنونِ عصر قرنہا بمشقِ بے توسنگی برزانوے جد و جہد نشستہ منشورِ ہنر درست نمودہ کلاہ گوشہ تفاخر بر آسمان شکستہ اند باندک توجہی در کمتر زمانی عَلَمِ امتیاز برافراشتہ در زبانہا بتحسین خو سخنے نگذاشتہ نسخہ شادہ ہنر آفرین خواندیش بیانِ واقع و مہ تیش در صنایع دلیلِ قدرتِ صانع۔ خردِ خردہ کار قلم بندِ نقش پردازیش و عقلِ رنگ آمیز صد فدار صورت سازیش۔ بجلا پردازیِ چشم کور سواد ان بمیلِ قلم در سرمہ سائی و بہ نبض گیریِ

صفیرِ مرگِ ناگهانی - رایتش سروبنِ گلشنِ فتح و نصر - خنجرش ماهیِ دریای
ظفر - کمرِ سعی بمعاضدتِ مرحمتش چست وشکستِ هنر بمومیائیِ تربیتش
درست - گوهر در نظرش بیقدرتر از ریگ بصحرا - وعده اش بوفا
نزدیکتر از موج بدریا - به استعارهٔ بحرِ کفش ابر را درفشانی وتشبیه
رخسارهٔ دلفروزش آفتاب را درخشانی - با سنگینیِ حلمش گرانیِ کوه سبکیِ
کاه و با علوِ قدرش بلندیِ سدره پستیِ گیاه - سخن با آن بلندی که
از کوتاهیِ سقفِ فلک صدجا خمیده چمیده در اندازِ آستان بوسِ ستایش
سر بزیرِ پا کشیده - تعدادِ فضایل وحصرِ کمالاتش آبِ دریا بکیلِ گشت
پیمودن وریگِ صحرا بانگشت شمردن - بر اهلِ زمان شکرِ این
عطیهٔ عظمیٰ که بادراکِ زمانِ ابد پیوندش مفتخر ومستسعد اند واجب
ولازم است - خصوصاً بر ساکنانِ عرصهٔ دکن که در هر طرف
مجلسی و در هر گوشه محفلی آراسته وپیراسته بصلای دوام برخوانِ
ذوقِ حضور و مائدهٔ عیش وسرور نشسته اند - بنوازشِ روزگار
دائره را که مرکزِ دائرهٔ اصول است مغزِ نشاط از پوست بدر
چیده وبتارهای قانون که مسطرِ کتابِ نغمات است - قلمِ عیش
بر صفحاتِ احوال کشیده - طنبور در شکارِ هوش کمند تار بردوش -
نَی با جیبای سور در دمیدنِ صور - از کیلِ کاسه کمانچه گوش
سامعه انبارِ نغمه - ترانه سازانِ هند بسنجیدن ترانهای خزانگی
ترازوی جنتر و بین در دست و ورعِ پیشگانِ هوشیار مغز

بزیرِ قصرِ قدرتش در تماشا — سر بر پشتِ عقلِ دست بالا

خلایق جمله مفتونِ هوایش — و کیلم من همه جانها فدایش

بخلقش حق نداده احتیاجے — ده ما را براے ما رواجے

ده صد بحر و کان را حاصل از دست — نیارد داد اما یک دل از دست

کسے را زیبد اندازِ ثنایش — که باشد عالمِ جان در کنارش

زہے اسکندر افلاطون فطنت که دانائی و دارائی ازو در پناه هم می بالند۔ حبذا پرویز بار به ترانه ریز که بسر انگشتِ نغمهاے مسرت افزایش گوشِ محنت و غم می بالند۔ به شمیمِ خلقش ممن را ختن ختن نافه در جیب و دامان و به نسیمِ لطفش غنچه را چمن چمن خنده در زیرِ لب پنهان۔ بتوفیقِ زمزمهٔ ستایش نطق را دم نوازش تقریر و بتوفیرا جارهٔ دعایش صدف را کفِ اجابت پُر از گوهرِ تاثیر فرمان قضا را امضاے حکمِ نافذش در کار و نسخهٔ تقدیر را بلغهٔ تدبیر صائبش برکنار۔ شمالِ گلشنِ وفاق را تاکید غنچهٔ دل شگفانیدن و صرصرِ کوے نفاق را مدید غبار بر خاطر نشانیدن۔ در تسلیِ بد عهدان جلا و اجل با شحنهٔ غضبش هم سوگند و در کارخانهٔ لطفش سر رشتهٔ عمر با عشرتِ دوام هم پیوند۔ نغمهٔ قانونِ عدالتش ملک نواز و شعلهٔ کانونِ سیاستش ظلم گداز۔ سطوتش زر در پنجهٔ شیر شکن۔ رزمش اجل در خون تکن۔ الفتش رم آهو ربا۔ بزمش جام بر بهم پیما۔ آبِ تیغش آتشِ خرمن زندگی۔ بادِ تیرش

زعدلش گوی عدل دیگران چیست   باو نازد لقب نوشیروان کیست
تفاوت کفر و دین آمد بمعنی   میانِ عدلِ او تا عدل کسری
ز بیداریش خواب ایمن ز نالش   بچشم پاسبانش گرد بالش
ز تیغش پیکرِ خصمان دو پیکر   ز گرزش فرقها را سینه مغفر
سمندش را سپند از خالِ محبوب   کمندش را نخ از رگهای مجذوب
مه نو حلقه در گوشِ رکابش   یکی از نیزه داران آفتابش
سنانش چون علم سازد سر انگشت   شود تسبیح ساز از مهرهٔ پشت
برانگیزد بهر جانب که لشکر   بگیرد گرد روی راه صرصر
بکینِ چرخ گر رخ برفروزد   نگه در چشمِ مهر و مه بسوزد
زجودش قطره در لجه نگنجید   زخلقش نفحه در غنچه نپیچید
سخنهای که نشنیده شنیده است   فراست را تو گوئی آفریده است
خبر از رازِ پنهانیش داوند   سوادِ خطِ پیشانیش داوند
دعایش گر نگردد با اثر رام   اثر از دم رود چون وحشی از دام
بجا نها تخم مهری کشت از ان دست   که در هر سو صد انبارِ دلش هست
بمهر از مهرورزان برسر آمد   عَرَض عشق و دلِ او جوهر آمد
نه تنها عشق را پشت و پناه است   برای حسن هم امیدگاه است
دماغ از تابِ روی او فگار است   نگه را باغِ روی او بهار است
نهد خور هر طرف دام نثارش   کزان ره پرتوی گردد شکارش
ادب در پیشگاهش پیشکاری   جبینش را حیا آئینه داری

گل داغش کسے رارستہ از شاخ | کہ چوں نے استخوانش گشتہ سوراخ
چو نے آنکس نفس در نغمہ افگند | کہ از کامش سراپاے خود آگند
چو از دردش شود پشتِ دوتا چنگ | دود دل تارہاے نالہ در چنگ
پرۂ خالی براند از نغمۂ دوست | ببیں وقت راکہ چوں بر مید رد پوست

رود باساز و برگ بر نوا زندۂ امتان کہ قانونِ دین بمضراب ہدایتش پر صدا ست و صلوٰۃ بر شعبہ و آوازہ بر آل و اصحابش کہ بر مکشی ضراعتِ شان سازِ شفاعتش نغمہ زا ست - رباعی

سلطانِ رسل کہ جملہ را تاجِ سر است | قانونِ بقا طفیلِ او نغمہ ور است
در چار صدا زشعبگیِ اوزدہ دم | ہر کس زدہ دوازدہ مقامش خبر است

اما بعد مژدہ شنیدن را بگفتنِ سخنِ شہنشاہِ سخنور نکتہ پرور نغمہ پرداز ترانہ ساز عرش طارم فلک شیم کیوان ہمم مریخ حشم خورشید علم برجیس شیم ناہید نغم عطارد رقم قمر خدم خلیل نوال یوسف جمال داؤد الحان سلیمان مکان عدل افزاے ظلم کاہ ابراہیم عادلشاہ خلد اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ و افاض علی العالمین برہ و احسانہ - مثنوی

جہانگیر و جہاندار و جہاں بخش | فلک قدر و فلک تخت و فلک رخش
کف ہمت دم شمشیر جرأت | دماغ ہوشمندی مغز فطرت
فصیل ... دل زہ ... | بر وصاف ثناے قبلہ گاہی
چو شیر ... پیش افسر کہ دارد | شہنشاہی جز او دیگر کہ دارد
اگر بر ... پشتان زہ جامش | وگر بر دست نگین از نامش

سه نثر ظهوری

نثر اوّل

نورس

بسم الله الرحمٰن الرحیم

سرود سرایان عشرتکدهٔ قال که بنورسِ سرابستانِ حال کارِ کام زبان ساخته بشهدِ ثنای صانعی عذب البیان اند که چاشنی نغمهای شیرین درگ و پی نی دوانیده - وخوش نفسان چمنِ نشئها که بر بسط نشاط انبساط پرداخته بزلالِ حمدِ خالقی رطب اللسان اند که گلِ ترنمای ستایش را صوت وصدا دمانیده - محملِ شوقِ حجازیانش بصدای جلاجلِ هندیان زنگله بند - وزخمِ جگرِ عراقیانش بنمکِ تارِ طنبورِ ترکان شکرخند - جلاجلِ اوراقِ درختان بهوای او ترانه ریز وبلبلانِ منقار بلبلان بنوای او نغمه خیز - مثنوی

درین بستانسرا افکنده غلغل   سخن گردید گلبن نغمه بلبل
زبان را مطربِ بزمِ دهن کرد   نفس را دلکشِ سازِ سخن کرد
بضبطِ نغمهٔ اسرار پرداخت   ز صندوقِ تنِ خلق ارغنون ساخت
رباب از مغز راز آمد بگفتن   شدش خشک از غم او پوست بر تن

APPENDIX A

Part I.—"*Nauras*"

OR

The New Fruit

Quatrain

He is the king of Apostles, the crown for the head of all, through whose favour the harp of Existence[1] produces music (i e, the world exists through him)

He alone within the four corners of this world,[2] can claim to be his offspring, who is conscious of the exalted position of the twelve Imāms[3] (i e one who is destitute of the love of his progeny cannot claim to be counted among his adherents)

After this, good news be to the faculty of hearing by the utterance of the word of praise for the Emperor who is erudite, a supporter of the arts, skilled in music, composer of song, whose house-roof is as high as the ninth sky, whose magnanimity is like that of Saturn, whose army equals that of Mars, whose flag is the Sun, whose manners are like those of Jupiter, whose tunes are the tunes of Venus, whose writing is like that of Mercury, whose servants are like those of the Moon, who is hospitable like *Khalīl*,[4] who possesses Joseph's beauty and David's voice, whose castle equals Solomon's, who increases justice and decreases tyranny, the Emperor Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, may God perpetuate his kingdom and royalty and extend the benefit of his goodness and benevolence to the people of both the worlds

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[1] Here seems to be an allusion to the following verse revealed on the Prophet —

لولاک لما خلقت الافلاک

(If thou wert not, I would not have created the skies)

[2] چار حد The four boundaries Here is a recondite allusion to the four immediate successors of the Prophet

[3] دوازدہ مقام . The twelve principal Persian tones of music Here it is supposed to refer to the twelve Imāms

[4] The surname of the Prophet Abraham, the founder of *Ka'ba* He was famous for his hospitality

Masnawī

Possessor of the world, conqueror of the world, giver of the world, whose dignity, whose throne, whose horse, are like those of the sky He is the palm of resolution, the edge of the sword of bravery, the brain of prudence, and the marrow of wisdom

The *Khalīl* of the Ka'ba of heart takes pride in him, the title of *Qibla Gāhī*[1] befits his person (i e, hearts have as much attraction for him as people for Ka'ba) Who has such a head for wearing a crown? Who else has a monarchy except him? If an assembly is a luxuriant place, it is from his wine cup, if a battle is coloured in red, it is from his sword What is the justice of others as compared with his? His surname '*the just*' feels proud of him, what is Naushirwan?

The difference between his justice and that of *Kisrā*[2] is, in reality, the same as that between religion and blasphemy On account of his wakefulness the sleep of his subjects is secure against complaint, for it has got a pillow in the eye of the watchman (i e, people depend for the safety of their person and property on the king's watchmen)

With his sword the body of the enemies is cut into two, by his mace the breast is made a helmet for the heads (i.e, his mace strikes so hard that the head sinks into the chest)

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[1] قبله: The house of God, i e, the *Ka'ba* towards which people turn their faces while praying. Hence قبله گاه is a patron who is looked to by the people with profound reverence for the attainment of their objects

[2] Another form of *Khusrau* (a King). It is an epithet given to Naushirwān, the Just, but can equally be applied to any Persian King

like Barbud,[1] with the finger-tips of whose delight-increasing notes the ears of labour and grief are pulled and boxed; with the fragrance of his good manners the jessamine has got *Khutans*[2] of musk-navels in its pocket and skirt, and through the breeze of his kindness gardens of smiles are hidden below the lip of the bud (i e, the bud is ready to open with the breeze of his kindness) With the help of the chant of his praise, the faculty of speech lays claims to grace eloquence, and with the surplus income accruing from the contract of prayer for him, the palm of the oyster[3] is full of the pearl of efficacy (i e, the oyster gets a pearl when it opens its hands to pray for him and not otherwise).

The decree of Destiny requires the authority of his signature[4] for its enforcement, the book of Fate needs the mark[5] of his correct plan on the margin, the breeze of the garden of Union is enjoined to open the bud of the heart, and the violent wind of the street of Disunion is forbidden to lay dust thereon.

The executioner of Death is in agreement with the police officer of his rage for the slaughter of the faithless and in the manufactory of his love the thread of life is interwoven with perpetual pleasure The music of the instrument of justice graces the country, and the flame of the furnace of his chastising government melts away tyranny

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[1] Name of a famous Persian musician—a native of Jahrūm, a town in the vicinity of Persepolis.

[2] Used figuratively signifying 'abundance' or 'plentifulness'

[3] The usual reading of the commentators is صدق 'truth,' which is a misprint for صدف 'an oyster'

[4] امضا Royal signature for the enforcement of a decree

[5] بلغ A mark put on the margin of a book when comparing it with some other copy to indicate the point reached.

The fury of his power breaks the strength in the lion's paw; his warfare throws Death itself into a pool of blood. his love deprives the deer of power of flight[1]; his banquet bestows the cup of luxury upon Jamshid, the water (edge) of his sword is a fire for the barn of Life, the wind of his arrow is a messenger of sudden death, his banner is the Cypress of the garden of victory and triumph, the back of exertion is made firm with the help of his kindness (i.e., every one's labour is amply rewarded by the king). The fracture of Art is healed by the salve of his appreciation, (i.e., the non-appreciation of art has disappeared) the pearl is inferior to the sand of the desert in his sight, his promise is nearer fulfilment than waves to the river

The cloud sheds pearls when compared with his palm which is like an ocean, and the sun brilliance by comparison with his shining cheek (i.e., his face is brighter than the sun), the weight of a mountain measured with the heaviness of his forbearance proves as light as hay, the height of the *Sidra*[2] is like the lowness of grass when compared with the elevation of his dignity, discourse which for all its loftiness, had to bend itself at several places on account of the roof of the sky being too low for its flight, was filled with shame[3] when it resolved to kiss the threshold of the palace of his praise

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[1] جام بر جم پیمودن This is an idiomatic expression meaning 'to put Jamshid in the back ground' i.e., to surpass him in luxuries.

[2] A lote-tree in *Paradise* beyond which the angel Gabriel cannot fly. Here, topmost height It is also called سدرة المنتهى

[3] سر بزانو یا کشیدن To bring one's head on one's knees, i.e., to acknowledge one's shortcoming or inferiority This is an idiomatic expression used to indicate one's sheer helplessness.

like Barbud,[1] with the finger-tips of whose delight-increasing notes the ears of labour and grief are pulled and boxed; with the fragrance of his good manners the jessamine has got *Khutans*[2] of musk-navels in its pocket and skirt, and through the breeze of his kindness gardens of smiles are hidden below the lip of the bud (i e, the bud is ready to open with the breeze of his kindness) With the help of the chant of his praise, the faculty of speech lays claims to grace eloquence, and with the surplus income accruing from the contract of prayer for him, the palm of the oyster[3] is full of the pearl of efficacy (i e, the oyster gets a pearl when it opens its hands to pray for him and not otherwise)

The decree of Destiny requires the authority of his signature[4] for its enforcement, the book of Fate needs the mark[5] of his correct plan on the margin, the breeze of the garden of Union is enjoined to open the bud of the heart, and the violent wind of the street of Disunion is forbidden to lay dust thereon.

The executioner of Death is in agreement with the police officer of his rage for the slaughter of the faithless and in the manufactory of his love the thread of life is interwoven with perpetual pleasure The music of the instrument of justice graces the country, and the flame of the furnace of his chastising government melts away tyranny

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[1] Name of a famous Persian musician—a native of Jahrām, a town in the vicinity of Persepolis.

[2] Used figuratively signifying 'abundance' or plentifulness '

[3] The usual reading of the commentators is صدق 'truth,' which is a misprint for صدف 'an oyster '

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To enumerate his virtues and to define his perfections is just like measuring the water of a river by *Kail* or counting the sand of the desert on fingers' ends

To offer thanks for the grand gift of the comprehension of this eternity-bound age, of which people are proud and derive good therefrom, is obligatory and binding upon all, more specially upon the residents of the plain of the Deccan, who, having held an entertainment on every side and a festival in every direction by standing invitation, are reclining at the table of the taste of his presence and the table-cloth of comfort and delight. By the grace of Time the Dāera, which is the centre of the circle of principles of music, overflows with joy[1] And with the strings of *qānūn*, which serve as the ruler for the book of songs (in order to keep its lines straight), an inscription of comfort is written on the pages of people's affairs

The *tambūr* to prey upon our senses carries a noose of strings on its shoulder, the pipe for the revival of Mirth is engaged in blowing the trumpet (*i e*, just as the dead would

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[1] مغز از پوست بدر جهیدن To be transported with joy

Note — The above passage in the original was taken to be in the passive voice, but if taken in the Active with *king* as its subject, the meaning would be —

> To favour the age he extracted the essence of *Dāera* which is the centre of the circle of the principles of music (*i e*, the instrument was a source of pleasure to the people before his time too, but now the model suggested by him and the songs composed to suit its special requirements, are by far the greater improvements on the instrument and cause eternal delight to the people, as if the essence of pleasure is extracted out of it).

rise from their graves at the sound of the trumpet on the day of Resurrection, so Mirth and Rejoicings are revived by the sound of the pipe) From the scale of the cup of the *Kamāncha*[1] the ear of the faculty of hearing is filled with heaps of songs, the Indian musicians are holding the balance of *Jantar-Peen*[2] in their hands to weigh his precious melodies, and the sane-headed devotees are intoxicated with the wine of the cask of *Mandal*[3]

The head of care and sorrow is trampled under the dancing feet of '*Usul*' and beaten by the clapping hand of *Tāl*, and with the songs of the writings of *Nauras* the atmosphere of the old Inn of this world abounds with gaiety

Couplets

The age is so much occupied by musical performances that, it would be fitting if Bahram[4] should dance in his grave The pheasant of song has made its nest on the lip, and music has erected a house in the palate and tongue of the people The cock of men's heart prepares to fly towards a city whose roofs

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[1] Lit a small bow Here, a species of violin shaped at one end like a cup

[2] A kind of musical instrument used in India in and prior to the Mughal rule

[3] An enchanter's circle in which he sits when trying to conjure the demons Also, a kind of drum

[4] The Persian name of the planet Mars Also, the name of Persian kings and heroes the one intended here being بهرام گور so called from his passion for hunting the wild ass He was a warrior and is not supposed to be interested in music

Note the play on the word گور meaning 'grave' and 'ass.'

and doors produce music From the blending of melody in the air the feathers of birds are made into *Mūsīqār*[1]

The tongues of people are intoxicated with the wine of song, breaths are dancing hand in hand. The king of music with his book *Nauras* has brought silence to speech If Nature was to make the elixir of mirth and cheerfulness, it would make it from the holy land of Bījāpūr.

If he sets his heart, as he should, on the ways of government and the rules of conquest, the dispositions of war and peace, and the nursing of determination and firmness, which are a verse of the Qur'ān in his praise and a robe of honour for his body, it is no wonder The wonder is that in every art and science such as music, calligraphy, and painting, of which the contemporary experts of the world having practised for years felt proud,[2] and after great efforts secured the Diploma of arts, he has with a little attention and in a short time lifted the banner of distinction in them, and caused no word of praise for him to be left on the tongues of the people. To call him an art-producing emperor is a fact. His skill in the art discloses the omnipotence of God, subtle wisdom is a slave[3] of his painting-pen and the richly-coloured intellect serves as a shell-keeper[4] in his drawing.

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[1] A bird with its bill perforated with holes through which it emits musical notes.

[2] کلاه شکستن Lit to turn down the corner of one's cap and to wear it awry which is a sign of pride کلاه گوشه کافر برآسمان شکستن is an idiomatic expression meaning 'to feel proud.'

[3] قلم بند. Attached to the pen, i e., a slave with implicit obedience to his master's will

[4] صدفدار. A servant who holds the inkpot of a painter who generally keeps his coloured inks in a shell, which serves as his inkpot

He is busy in lighting the eyes of the blind by applying collyrium with the stick of his pen (i. e, his writing lights the eyes of the illiterate), he is Christ-like in the treatment of the incurable by feeling the pulse of the string of his tambour (i. e, the sickly are cured by listening to the sound of his musical instrument) A letter of bondage to his newly-grown beard is in the arm-pit of the face of the beautiful (i e, the embellishment of the hair on the cheeks of the beloved is, as though, a letter of slavery which they are holding in obedience to his hair), the wire-box of his musical instrument is on the shoulder of the tresses of the curly-haired[1], before the amber-scented mandate of his pen, Mercury has no alternative but to acknowledge subjection

On seeing the delicate beauty of his guitar, Venus cannot but come out from behind the curtain, his pen is the maid of the bride of the page of the world, his writing cancels the face of the sun (i e, the light of the sun is now superfluous on account of the lustre of the writings of the king.)

Masnawī

The eye fosters collyrium at the sight of his writing, the ear wears a ring of slavery at the sound of his musical instrument. The sun swears by the glory of his crown, Venus joins the string of his guitar When he takes up his pen for composition, Mercury trickles into his inkpot like a drop To the bride of his page his writing is an ornament, although each of its letters is in itself a beloved The dots on his letters are scattered like grain, who ever has seen a net so captivating to the sight! when he girt up his loins for the art of painting, he made a brush out of the ringlets of the

[1] The embellishment of the tresses of the loved ones is due to the fact that they have submitted to the wire-box of his musical instrument which they are carrying on their shoulders.

fairies and the virgins of paradise (and not from the tail of squirrels as is ordinarily the case) With painting he so adorned the face that his simplest drawing demanded the whole territory of China in reward for showing its face.[1] If he paints the picture of a nightingale, hear its sound, and listen, he also gives flight to sound (*i.e.*, he can depict sound itself) His (painted) bird would not rest on the page if he were not to put the net of his love on its foot. The spring season is one of the flower-pickers in his garden, its buds are opened by the slight stir of breeze No one painted the picture of *reality* like him, yet he made no pretensions to be a prophet-like *Mānī*[2] Tell Art to heap up smiles on the lip, and wipe away the tears of grief from the base of the eye-lashes. Tell the fosterers of Art to live honourably for the time of indifference has expired

Whatever straitness[3] was shown hitherto by Time in the curtailment of Art, his bountiful generosity stretched its hand to compensate it. The wishes of the Masters of Art through the ornament of his care, are the beloved of fulfilment (*i. e.*, they are amply rewarded), and from men of worth a point is accepted by him, as equivalent to a book, and a flower to a garden. No thorn in the path of Art ever pierced a man's foot, but he picked up gardens[4] of flowers of his wishes from

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[1] رونما · A present made to a bride by her husband's relatives when she first unveils herself before the assembly.

[2] A famous Persian painter, the founder of the sect of Manicheans.

[3] مضایقه ; Reducing to straits; here means 'meagre appreciation.'

[4] باغ باغ گل · An idiomatic expression used for 'plentifulness.' Compare [illegible] in the succeeding line.

the blossom of the King's favour; (i e., whoever took pains in the acquirement of Art, has his desires fulfilled by him) and no one tasted the bitterness of toil in the acquisition of perfection, but had Egypts of sugar cast into his throat by the sweetness of his munificence, and in nothing was the excellence of Art hidden but his discernment openly fell in love with it. If by the stirring of wind, the ripplings in the water produce any sort of lines, or curly smoke rises from the bright fire, he is quick to praise the latter (on account of his love for painting) and prompt to extoll the former (on account of his perfection in the art of calligraphy). Though by reason of his equity, he has given and gives the different kinds of arts their due, yet, praise be to God, how much he has devoted and devotes himself to poetry! What is not among the selections of his unerring judgment, is far from the ornament of recognition, and what is not tested by his shining genius, lies heavy on the heart on account of lightness. The most eloquent poets of the school of poetry are mere novices in his school of literature, and the brave cavaliers of the field of eloquence are the footmen of the plain of his subtle speech

In his explanation a drop is the source of a fathomless river, and in brevity the brilliant sun is a grain of the west. The fame of the roll of his fluency is the pendant of the ear of eloquence (i. e., his fluency is an ornament to eloquence), and the renown of his sweet speech, is the salt of the dining-table of beauty The dot of the pen of his equivocation is a seal of the treasury of mysteries (i.e., in every dot of his there are concealed a thousand topics or subjects). The brightness of the flame of his explanation is the polish of the mirror of expression (i.e., the meaning is itself explained by his mode of description). The sweetness of his manner of expression sweetens the palate of discourse. The neck of the game of meaning is in the noose of his quick apprehension. The eye of the hope of lives is fixed on the motion of his lip which brings joyful tidings, and the proprie-

tary deed for the possession of hearts is in the palm of his moving eye-brow. His prose is the *Nasra*[1] of loftiness and his verse is the *Sirius*[2] of sublimity. Every letter of his is a chapter, and every branch a root (*i.e.*, every letter of his composition contains as many topics as a chapter does)

Masnawi

The heart of speech was heavy with a mountain of sorrow for grief that it had no glorious master It was a bride bereft of ornament and dress, and its lowly fortune had made it ashamed of itself Now heaven kisses its feet and it is bedecked from head to foot like the neck and ear of a bride. As the Emperor's thought is very lofty the pearls of the box of the Pleiades[3] have changed into rue seeds.[4] The teachers have become the composers of song by being his pupils, tenderness has acquired elegance from his intellect. Sweetness has got its taste from his eloquence, and is getting a stipend of sweetness from his tongue He so sweetens every letter of colocynth that sweetness is heaped up in one's ears He utters the word '*kay*' with such weight and gravity that the mountain clamours out of jealousy He never lets the word 'flower' enter his speech unless he gives it a hundred colours and smells When he drinks the wine in the cup of fluency, he gives rise to a storm in a single

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[1] A small star in the nose of the sign Leo, forming the eighth mansion of the Moon

[2] Name of a bright star called the 'dog star' Mark the suggestive association of the words . شعرش شعرای مرتبہ

[3] ثریا : A collection of small stars appearing like a bunch of grapes, called the Pleiades.

[4] سپند : Wild rue of which a fumigation against malignant eye is prepared

drop. His composition gave praise a tongue (i. e, he so arranged his words that Praise itself began to sing in his praise); firmness became an instrument for this foundation. Discourse was freed from the care of maintaining its position; it got its right place owing to his organisation. If a critic once opens his eye he will see nothing but virtues

And of the many obligations that he has imposed on men of wisdom and understanding, the one is that he engaged himself in the composition of the book *Nauras*, and honoured the faculty of speech and hearing by its being read and heard, and so arranged it that just as the freshness of meaning gives freshness to words, so the newness of the tunes that are associated with these verses, pearls be showered on them, knock the chain of effect on the door of hearts (i e., produce effect); and with the air of the breath of singers wipe off the dust of old and new sorrows from the corners of the hearts of listeners.

Quatrain

The world is full of rejoicing on account of the King of the Deccan, the dust of grief is laid by the water of his song The masters of song are his old pupils[1]; one who has newly become his pupil has the style of a master-singer (i.e., it is not a wonder that his old pupils are Masters of Song the wonder is that even a novice has the air of an expert).

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[1] If we do not take the word کہنہ as an adjective qualifying the noun استادان but take it as qualifying the noun ترانہ, the meaning would be

> The master of old songs are his pupils (i.e, they no longer deserve to be called masters since their songs are now quite old and out of date The suggestion is that a master is one who has modernised the style like the king to suit the requirements of the latest taste.

The reason why the book is called by this name is that the Indians call a mixture of nine juices '*Nauras*,' and if the Persians believe it to be the fresh fruit of the tree of his learning and perfection, it is appropriate; and in this sense also that this beloved of perfect beauty has newly appeared on the stage of existence from behind the curtain of invisibility, if it is called *Nauras* it is also right.

Hemistich

Just think of the quality of the book from this name.

The landscape of sight is a flower-garden from its pages and the blunt aptitude[1] for reading is brightened by its whiteness; every page is a garden and every line a tree whose leaf is its heart-enchanting word, and whose fruit is its unalloyed meaning, the nightingale of eloquence is singing on the flower of the elegance of his writing, and the sight of the spectators is enchained by the current of the freshness of his flowing style. The hyacinth of its letters comes from the sigh of impatient lovers; the violet of its dots is from the mole of the beloved.

From the moisture of the freshness of its words, the canal of life overflows with Nectar. *Khizr* is thirsty for the moisture of its style, the *Messiah* dies for its life-giving breath, its felicitous significations are like unopened buds (*i e*, just as smell is hidden in the bud, so also is elegance concealed in Nauras). The paint of its composition gives the beauty of the anemone and its freshness is full of sweetness.

Masnawi

The flower seeks rouge from its colour; from its moisture wine takes lustre. Do not call it Nauras, it is the lofty

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[1] سواد : Blackness (here, dulness), as opposed to بیاض meaning 'whiteness' (here, brightness).

Paradise; not only people say so but *Razwān*[1] too is of the same opinion. He alone can plant a garden like this who can gather roses from the fire like Abraham,[2] the Friend of God. The writings of Nauras came from the just and learned King to redress the complaint of breaths (*i.e.*, till before this, breath was good for nothing and uselessly spent, but now on account of the songs of *Nuaras* it came to have a value of its own, being employed in music) With his genius at his command and his self in obedience to God's Decree, he made words the body and melody the soul. What a charm he concealed in melody that the passage for fading is blocked on freshness (*i.e.*, the pleasure gained by listening to his tunes has a lasting effect on one's mind). He gave a glow of light to the brilliant sun and a precious new robe to newness Speech was so conscious of its loftiness and glory that it built its palace in the Emperor's castle If we touch the edge of a leaf with the finger, every page will begin to tell a hundred tales (*i.e.*, the book contains hundreds of valuable points which become apparent when a man turns its leaves) Its lines are made of the thread of sound; its leaves are the films of a musical instrument The letters on the pages all back one another so that none dare find fault with any of them Tell newness to grow freely for the Nauras has trampled down oldness. May God grant it the garment of recognition and protect it from every absurd criticism

Since the royal favours and imperial gifts are common to all distant and near, he did not choose to deprive the

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[1] Title of the main gate-keeper of Paradise.

[2] چوں خلیل از نار گلزار (بوستان) : Refers to the incident of the Prophet Abraham being thrown into the fire by Nimrod and to the miracle of its suddenly turning into a flower-garden.

residents of 'Iraq and Khurasan of its taste, and wished that the book should be translated into Persian so that the Persians too by grasping its meaning may every day have a Naurūz[1] there. A royal decree imposing obedience received the honour of issue that those who stand at the foot of the throne, which is the seat of royalty and the semblance of the throne of God, should, after testing the cash of their ability and intellect on the touch-stone of examination, prepare a commentary brief in words but detailed in meaning, and also with elucidations of some of its technicalities[2] (so as to save the translation from getting too lengthy).

Although in seeking distinction great labour had been spent on minute points, yet when the commentary was read, even the un-erring whose page of composition was never familiar with the erasing-knife and altering-pen, washed off every line and every page with the sweat of shame owing to his alterations in words, changes in constructions, appropriate amendments and clearer expressions; and having written whatever they heard from his miraculously eloquent tongue, they regarded themselves to be mere instruments of writing like the pen To be brief the grandeur of the text is due to his all-pervading knowledge, and the clearness of the commentary to his lucid style of expression

Qit'a

All men learn good manners and niceties from him, whether they be 'Irāqīs or Khurāsānīs. Where is Plato that he may

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[1] New Year's day, *i e.*, the day on which the sun enters Aries, initiating a week of general festivity and merry-making in Presia.

[2] If read as حواشی (marginal notes) and not as قیود (restrictions), the meaning would be .

They should also elucidate the technical terms occurring in the book.

with all his wisdom bend his knees to take lessons from him

That he himself has not attended to the writing of the preface has several advantages and objects Yes, to frustrate the damaging effect of the evil eye, the association of a worthless stone with a chain of precious pearls is indispensable, and for the thriving of a garden, weeds and thorns are necessary. To keep camphor by the side of pitch and to eat sugar after colocynth is wisdom, and verily the writing of the preface also originates from the benefit of his instructions, as he has repeatedly said that an author must first weigh his words, for there are many a construction to and from which, though not a word is added or subtracted, yet the meaning sits with fresh glory on the chair of Word by a slight alteration And he has commanded to pick up the stones of hard words from off the path of Discourse so that the foot of the horse of description may not receive any injury He has forbidden us to use words to which the hand and foot of the faculty of understanding may not find a way owing to their subtlety and equivocation. Examples of this sort have been frequently heard from him. Through his bright intellect, the mind of his pupil is made clear and the ring of pupilage is an ornament to the ear of the just. To be brief, if the present of a flower is made to Spring, it is only (to give back what comes) from the king of seasons, and if a pearl is offered to the parent sea, it springs only from the sea.

Couplet

In accomplishment, O wisdom ! see his width, Lo ! a sea is less than a drop before him

As the quality of being in want of nothing is the sole attribute of God, so also the Emperor, who is a shadow of God, has no want, but for the companions, whom he may give the wine of discourse and the sweet of melody in proportion to their taste and capacities, and talk to them in different ways

suiting their ability How admirable is the taste of that quick-witted man who, by listening to his intricate points, is able to understand them, and how happy that light-hearted being is, the bird of whose heart, with its gay feathers, may sit and sing on the twigs of delicate songs How difficult it is for a learned speaker to adapt himself to a hearer of lesser understanding, and to bring down of necessity a discourse of elevated order from its high position The case of the abovementioned speaker is like that of a jeweller and a painter, wherein the one, to break the valuable gem, hardens his heart, so that a poor customer may be able to purchase the same, and the other reduces the speed of his brush of delicate drawing, so that a spectator of dull sight can afford to look at it. As the pages of the hearts of high and low are under the influence of the pen of doubt,[1] those who have not adorned the path of sight and hearing with a look at the King's Paradise-like court, and have not regarded this assembly as *'Id* and *Nauroz* for their eyes and ears, nor seen wisdom embodied, nor picked up the gems of his miraculous composition in the casket of the ear of sense, imagine that this eulogium too, is the same as that of other eulogizers who in extolling their object of praise are all exaggeration, and know their drop to be the source of an ocean, and their atom the rising place of the sun. Though the truthfulness of Zuhūrī's word is evident, yet to remove this doubt he takes an oath By the Painter Who with the hyacinth of the downy hair on the cheek of the beloved permitted musk to grow over Narcissus, and by the Player Who with the key of song threw open the door of obligation to the audience, I swear that the length of the volume of his praise is not within the power of the pen of any expert writer, and the pitch of the harp of his attributes cannot be contained

[1] *I.e.*, people are generally suspicious of eulogisers.

in the breath of any blessed being. May all with the aid of Fortune have the honour of kissing his carpet so that each, having had the pleasure of receiving a share of reward in proportion to his genius and intellect, may be convinced of the truth and the integrity of my word In connection with this prayer it struck me that since prolixity is not consonant with respectfulness, the song of the concluding prayer was, therefore, proper for my breath which is influenced by the efficacy of his favour

Sentences of prayer —As long as from the goblet of the *tambour* of the sun, the wires of the rays shine out, may the breeze of song continue to blow from the garden of my master's assembly and as long as on the guitar of speech, the chord of human breath is played by the plectrum of the tongue,[1] so long may the song of the praise of his rule be a store for the mouth and tongue of the populace

Qit'a

So long as the words '*Chang*' and '*Quanun*' are used in a twofold sense by poets in the assembly of speech, may the claws of the hawk of his prosperity be ever red with the blood of the prey of conquest, and the wire of the *Chang* of his happiness be secure from breaking May the song of the musical instrument of the world be in consonance with the tunes of his praise, may the laws and customs of the world be in conformity with his wishes

Hemistich

May many obligations be placed upon acceptance by these prayers (*i e.*, acceptance should feel obliged to my prayers)

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[1] تا بر قانون سخن باد *i. e*, the praise of the king be on the tongues of people so long as they are able to speak.

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Sentences of prayer —As long as from the goblet of the *tambour* of the sun, the wires of the rays shine out, may the breeze of song continue to blow from the garden of my master's assembly and as long as on the guitar of speech, the chord of human breath is played by the plectrum of the tongue,[1] so long may the song of the praise of his rule be a store for the mouth and tongue of the populace

Qita

So long as the words '*Chang*' and '*Quanun*' are used in a twofold sense by poets in the assembly of speech, may the claws of the hawk of his prosperity be ever red with the blood of the prey of conquest, and the wire of the *Chang* of his happiness be secure from breaking May the song of the musical instrument of the world be in consonance with the tunes of his praise, may the laws and customs of the world be in conformity with his wishes

Hemistich

May many obligations be placed upon acceptance by these prayers (i e., acceptance should feel obliged to my prayers).

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[1] تا بر قانون سخن باد. i. e., the praise of the king be on the tongues of people so long as they are able to speak.

غزل

کعبۂ اہلِ دل ابراہیم باد — قبلۂ نہ چرخ و ہفت اقلیم باد

از مہِ نو پشتِ دستے بر زمین — پیشِ قدرش چرخ در تسلیم باد

ہمتش ترکیبِ لفظِ کم نخواست — کافِ سرکش ز اختلاطِ میم باد

نفیِ تخصیص از سخایش ثابت است — نیک و بد را مژدۂ تعمیم باد

تا پذیرد عیش و عشرت انقسام — عیشہاے عالمش تقسیم باد

تا بیکتا جملہ را امید ہست — حاسدش را دل دو نیم از بیم باد

عقلِ کل در مزرعِ استادیش — خوشہ چینِ خرمنِ تعلیم باد

داستان شد ختم بستانِ رخش — غیرتِ گلزارِ ابراہیم باد

مگر بشرح عشرت غربت پردازم خلقے را از وطن بر می آرم وتاب این شکنجہ ندارم واگر ازین حرف زبان می بندم بر غفلتِ بعضے آشنایان و درماندگان می ترسم واین قدر بیرحم ہم نیستم۔ مثنوی

مسکنِ عیش و عشرت است وکن | لب بہ غربت فتد ز حرفِ وطن
نیست از صبحِ روزِ وصل عجیب | خندہ بر انشراحِ شامِ غریب
نغمہاے غریب ریخت ز ساز | ہست آرے شہہ غریب نواز
در سخن برکشید مغز ز پوست | لفظ و معنی غریب دارد دوست
رفتن از کوے او نصیب مباد | ہیچکس در وطن غریب مباد
معنیِ صورتِ وفا و وفاق | زہر ہا را محبتش تریاق
صیتِ خود را کہ سر بکشور داد | بہرِ تسخیر ہر ہنرور داد
قسمِ جان بہ زندگانیِ او | کو جز او کس بہر باقی او
نامہ در خواندنِ ہنر پویان | نعل در آتش العجل گویان

اگر عذر دراز نفسی گفتہ شود کوتاہی باشد۔ این مدح وثناے دیگران نیست کہ عذرِ تطویلِ کلام باید گفت و خجلتِ اطناب باید کشید۔ سامعہ در سعادتے نیفتادہ کہ در شکر گزاریِ ناطقہ نباید ش شد واز شادابیِ گفتن تشنگیِ شنیدن ہنوز می فہم۔ اما چون آخر سکوت مجز مُہرِ وہانِ سخن خواہد بود دعا ہم احرامِ کعبۂ اختتام بست۔ مصرع

گو اجابت لب بہ آمین باز کن

کہ بیدل وا نیاز است و عرش راز لو بزانوے اصل و سحر ش دوش بدوش

اعجاز۔ آرے زورِ شناوری قطرہ بیازوے موج دریا ست و روشنائی ذرہ

بپرتو خورشیدِ جہان آرا۔ باوجود شغلِ ملک گیری و رعایتِ احوالِ رعایا و لشکر

بارِ حکمت گردی یعنی استادیِ عالم بر گردن گرفتن و زحمتِ تربیتِ شاگردان

کشیدن غرض التفات و مرحمت است ہم بخلق و روزگار و ہم بہ ارباب

استعداد کہ قابلیتِ آنہا ضایع نماند و اینہا بہ حظِ وافی بہرہ مند گردند تا شفقت

و عطوفت را این پایہ نباشد بہ تختِ بادشاہی برآمدن دست ندہد و تا در ترحم

و مہربانی دریا نشود گوہرِ دارائی و فرمانروائی بکف نیفتد۔ تفوقِ پادشاہان

بمہربانی و شفقت است نہ بعرض و طولِ مملکت۔ مصرع

شہنشہ تر بہر آنکو مہربان تر

مرحمتش بر رخ ہر کہ خندید دیگر گریہ بہ زخش بسا ط اشک نچید۔ طفلیکہ سر انگشت

مہربانیش مکید لبش گزندۂ پستانِ مادر نگردید۔ بتقریبِ حرفِ مہربانی از

نقلِ مہربانی کہ سندِ افتخار و محلِ اعتبار این خاکسار بمقدار است قلمِ تحریر

زبانے دارد۔ ازانجا کہ عمر را با غرور گفتگو نیست وقتے در کیفگاہ فرصت معروض شد

کہ محرومیِ سعادتِ بساط بوسی چون تحملِ بے صبران از حد گذشت و بارِ تنہائی

بر دوشِ سبکروحان خوش گران است بعبارتے نگین ترا از شورِ محبت فرمودند

اگر تنہامی بودی چنین بودی۔ چون شریک داری میتوان ساخت۔

کسے چہ سازد۔ بیت

یکیست جان و دو صد ہزار نیر نگی است زبان فضول چہ سازم بگفتگوے نیاز

تکلفی نیست و این طور سخنانِ تکلفی در خورِ برداشت و دریافت حوصلهٔ ماست
وگرنه معنیش گران تر است که بارِ سبکی بر گردنِ توانایانِ سخن نهد۔ اربابِ
استعداد را صحبتِ کتابخانه که مکانِ فیضِ الٰهی است و کتبخانهٔ اوستادانِ
معنی اعنی شاگردانِ اعلیٰ حضرت ظلِ اللّٰهی روزی باد۔ بتخصیص آنجا که
همه جا رعایت و مناسبت مرعیست دیوانِ عدل و داد در ایوان و مجلسِ
عیش و نشاط در بستان می دارند و دیوان داریِ جود و سخا در خزانه و غور
رسیِ فضل و هنر در کتابخانه مقرر است۔ فی الحقیقة غائب شد گاسے که
مغزِ خود را در پوست کشیده کتاب نام نهاده تنگ در هم نشسته اند بمعنی از
حاضران و مستفیدان اند۔ تعلیماتے که در بابِ شعر و شاعری شنیده شد
از پاسِ اقتضاے مقام و متانتِ بناے کلام و انشراح و افتتاح و التیام
و اختتام و تفصیل و توضیح و اجمال و ابهام و سنجیدگیِ عبارت و شوخیِ اشارت
و حشمتِ معنی و جودتِ لفظ و چسپانیِ ربط و تنگ ورزیِ حروف و کرسی نشینیِ
ترکیب و بستِ قافیه و نشستِ ردیف و تلاشِ کیفیت و صافیِ سینه و پاکیِ
زبان و عرق ریزیِ سعی و سحر خیزیِ خواب و زاریِ حصول و دریوزه گریِ
قبول و امثالِ اینها در خطبهٔ کتاب نورس که کهن سراے جهان ازو
پُر آوازه است مرقوم گردیده۔ للّٰه الحمد که بهمین تعلیماتش در پیرانه سری
بترقیاتِ جوانی می نازم و با شهسوارانِ این فن بعنان می تازم۔ و چه
ترقی ازین زیاده خواهد بود که آفتابِ تربیتش پرتو ملاطفت انداخته
خفائی را ظهوری ساخته و در نخل پیراے گلزارِ ابراهیم انباز ملک الکلامی است

تلخ شنو۔ عفو کار۔ جرم دِرَوْ۔ وطن دردلِ غریبان ساز۔ تواضع زیب۔
غرور پرداز۔ دل درعنانِ صبر ازپئے دوان۔ از ہمہ برکنار۔ باہمہ درمیان۔
یوسف رخ۔ حسن پناہ۔ ابراہیم نام۔ کعبہ درگاہ۔ کہ از روزِ ازل درِ دیوانِ
دہش الٰہی درہیچ چیز با او تقصیرے نرفتہ و بہرچہ دلپذیر و خاطرخواہِ او بود
قلمِ تقدیر بران رفتہ۔ سال و ماہِ عمرِ ابدپیوندش درسیرِ خیابانِ عشرۂ
سوم و غلغلۂ فضایل و کمالاتش درمغزِ ساکنانِ سپہرِ ہفتم۔ کافرِ نعمت
آنانکہ برخوانِ ہنر بہ استادیش ایمان نیارند و تخمِ شکرِ شاگردیش در زمینِ
کام و زبانِ نہ کارند۔ زبانِ شکر خود کراست۔ ببذلِ زر و سیم ہمیانہائے
ہنروران سنگین و بہ بخشیدنِ معنی و مضامین دیوانہائے شاعران رنگین۔
بہ اظہارِ یکدو معنی از جملہ معانی انعامی کہ درجریدۂ اشعارِ این ثناخوان
ثبت است اشعارِ سے میرود۔ روزے درتعریفِ یوزِ فربہ و مذمتِ اسپِ
لاغر شعرے چند گوش گذارِ استادگانِ مجلسِ بہشت نشان می شد۔
شاید کہ درخاطر ہم گذشتہ باشد کہ طبیعتِ عالی بکاہلی از خود راضی نشدہ
والاخیال را فربہی و فکر را صید افگنی ہست۔ این معنی را غیرتِ
فراستش دریافتہ قریب بست وسی معنی و تشبیہ بہ رساترین ادا بیان
رفت۔ یکے آنکہ اگر یوز را بہ زنجیرِ رگ و پئے صدجا بہ گلیغ وا غما بندند
بیم است کہ بجلدی از جلد بیرون جہد دیگر اینکہ ضعف و ناتوانیِ این
اسپ بغایتے است کہ ہنگام تصویرش ہرگاہ بر قلم لغزیدنی دست دہد او
از پا درافتادہ گردد وار بہ زمین نقش بندد۔ قسم بہ راستی کہ درین سخنان

طرانه سازی جرم زهره بگل تسلیم شاگردی در تارک آرائی و در صفحهٔ رقم طرازی
صفرِ عطارد را به نقطهٔ امتحانِ قلم مرتبه افزائی - بلبل اگر بنغماتِ نقشِ او
نفس برآمیزد کمن ترانهٔ خود را با حرفِ برگِ گل از منقار بیرون ریزد -
بشهدِ فصاحت چاشنیِ بلاغت در کام و زبان انباشته و بکلیدِ طلاقت
قفلِ لکنت از درِ بیان برداشته - بروشنیِ بیانش شام طبعان در صبح
طرازی و برسائیِ ادایش کوتاه درکان درزبان درازی - دسترس
معانی سره کجاست فطرتش بر طاقِ بلند نهاده و قدرتِ خریداری الفاظ
سنجیده کراست فصاحتش به بیهاگی قیمت داده - عبارت را پاکیِ لولوی
مدن - الفاظ را نویِ فیروزهٔ کهن - **ابیات**

از خوی سعی جبهه ساخته تر | تا بجا ماند آبروی هنر
زرِ خالص سخن بدولتِ او | فکر مس کیمیا طبیعتِ او
عقل را آورد برون ز خمار | جام لفظش بمعنی سرشار
حاجتِ فکرها از وست روا | منع شان کرد ز اختلاط خطا
پر بها گوهریست هر سخنش | گوش بنهاده چشم بر دهنش
چرخ پست از علوِ گفتارش | شعری از نقطهای اشعارش
به ادایش ادا رسیده نها | عاشقِ گفتنش شنیده نها
کر جز او زد بنامِ استادی | کوس شاهی بنامِ استادی

زهی شهریارِ عادل کامگارِ کامل - موم دل - آهنین پیمان منت‌سک
عطاگران - کوه وقار - کاه نقار - دل رام کن - خاطر نشکا - شیرین گو

تندبارانِ سحابِ پیمانش راحباب سندان وسوہانِ قضا بخائیدن زنجیرِ عہدش کندوندان - از تصورِ نازکیش نسترن در روساختن واز تعقلِ بردباریش کوہ درکمر باختن - باملایمتِ خوے خوشش حریرِ سمن خشن وباراعۂ گلزارِ خلقش شمیمِ ختن عفن - پیشانی درکشادگی عرصۂ خاطر گوشہ نشینان - نگاہے درپاکی پردۂ چشمِ خدابینان - ابیات

نمکِ عمر شہدِ مرحمتش | تشنہ جوئیست بحرِ کرمتش
چشم بررافتش نوازش را | جلوہ از قامتش طرازش را
مہر سطرے زصفحۂ کینش | کوہ کاہے زسنگِ تمکینش
گر سخنہاے تلخ زہرآگین | بگذرد بر لبش شود شیرین
چرب و نرمیش گر سخن راند | مغز را زاستخوان کہ می داند
درجہان نیست آن نشاط وملال | کہ کشد خجلت از تغیرِ حال
بشکند آسمان وایوانش | نشکند طاقِ عہد وپیمانش
ساخت کار آن کسے کہ باو ساخت | بُرد در عشقش آنکہ خود را باخت
آنکہ رخسارِ او ندید چہ دید | وانکہ نشنید از وسخن چہ شنید

نہم - توفیقِ کسبِ فضایل وکمالات

باندازۂ طبعِ دقادش بلند آسمان کوتاہ اوج وباغور وفکرِ نقادش ژرف دریا تنک موج - بسحرِ نغمہاے داؤدی موم کنندۂ دلہاے آہنین وبرطوبتِ ترانہاے باربدی ازمغزِ زہد بوست چین - درگلشنِ

عشرتان جرعہ خوارِ جامِ جمشیدیش وماہ طلعتان درزیرِ دامِ خورشیدیش۔

مثنوی

دیدہ خورشید زار از رویش | سنبلستان مشام از مویش
دست بر دل ز طلعتش خوبی | پاے در گل ز قامتش طوبی
عارضش نوبہارِ باغِ ارم | داغِ پروانگیِ چراغِ حرم
کرد آئینہ را تجلی خیز | از مہ و مہر ساختش لبریز
گوہرِ عشق را دلش مخزن | دانۂ حسن را رخش خرمن
این تصرف نہ مہر داشت نہ ماہ | ہر نگاہیکہ رفت داشت نگاہ
در دلِ دلبران تصرف ازو | عشقِ یعقوب و حسنِ یوسف ازو
پیش رویش بہشت ساختہ رو | حبذا خوی صاحبِ این خو
مئے مہرش حصارِ ہوشم باد | ساغرم خوش پرست نوشم باد

ہشتم۔ سیرتِ پسندیدہ واطوارِ برگزیدہ

صاحبِ خلق و کمال جامع صفاتِ جلال وجمال بمطالعۂ تالیف الفتش بیگانگان شارحِ متنِ آشنائی ۔ و بر جادۂ پیرویِ پیشرویش خضر تشنہ وادیِ رہنمائی ۔ آب سحابِ تدبیرش نشانندۂ غبارِ لجاج وعناد وہم رویانندۂ نہالِ صلاح وسداد ۔ ریزہ خواریِ خوانِ ہمتش اکسیر نعمتِ سیرچشمی وچاشنی گیریِ شہدِ رافتش موریثِ لذتِ دیرخشمی ۔ بجلوۂ ماہچۂ رایے منیرش نور در دیدہا انبار و بسر پنجۂ شعاعِ ضمیرش گلوی آفتاب درفشار

ابیات

چون قضا دفترِ وجود نوشت | بر کفِ او براتِ جود نوشت
کفِ او قلزم ست وجو سحاب | کشتِ امید عالمے سیراب
لاف از پیششش از پُری دریا | پوچ گردد دُرش حباب آسا
وعدهٔ او شه و وفا پیهش | انتظارے نگشته تکیه گهش
ماه درزیرِ سکهٔ شاهی | در درم غرق کیسهٔ ماهی
همه سعی آفتاب اکسیری | پیشِ جودش هنوز تقصیری
سائلان بر سوال لب نه نهند | دو جهان را بیک طلب بدهند
کمترین بذلِ ملک و شهر وده است | نقدِ صد گنج صرفِ یک بدره است
کارے افتاد ابرِ نیسان را | دیده آن دستِ گوهر افشان را

هفتم ۔ صورتِ زیبا و طلعتِ جهان آرا

حقیقتیکه از ابراهیم علیه السلام بیوسف میراث رسیده بود تا غایت در تتقِ غیب و ودیعت مانده ۔ اکنون روزگار برامانت سپار باز تسلیم ابراهیم نمود ۔ اهلِ نظر بینا یا نیکه چشم بتماشایش گذارند و اربابِ محبت بیدلا نیکه دل بتولایش سپارند ۔ جبهه بدرخشانی مشعلِ وادی کلیم ۔ عارضے بشگفتگی گلزار ابراهیم ۔ بر افسانهٔ قامتش خوابها همه نهال و بحکایتِ خرامشش نفسها همه پامال ۔ در عشرتکدهٔ محبتش دلهاے حزین بیغم و در بهارستانِ طلعتش نگه هاے پژمرده پرنم ۔ پرویز

تا ظفر نامہا کنند رقم | چہ قلمہاے دست کردہ قلم
آرزوہاے خصم کشتہ ببین | ہیچکس تیغ کین نراندہ چنین
می چکاند بہ بزم و رزم مدام | ساغرش زہرہ خنجرش بہرام
بیشۂ رزم باغ و بستانش | مہرِ شیرِ خداے خفتانش

ششم - سخاوت

کہ کشادگیِ کفش تنگی در جہان نگذاشتہ الّا در دلِ بدان و دہانِ خوبان۔ پردہائیکہ از روے عیبہا برکشیدہ بر چشم بدبینان بستہ و قفلہا کہ از درِ گنجہا برداشتہ - بر دہانِ سخن چینان گذاشتہ - ہیچکس از والاہمتان تشریفِ عطاے چنان ندوختہ کہ دستے بہ آن دراز نشود و ہیچکدام از مایدہ گستران دیگِ سخاے چنان نہ پختہ کہ حرفگیریِ خامی زبانِ زردِ طعنہ نگردد۔ طمع از وارستگانِ یاس بہنگامِ سوال - فلک از ماہ و خور نوالہ خورِ خوانِ نوال - کوتاہ داستان بلند سود آنچہ بشب خواب بینند صبح از تعبیرِ باغِ سخایش گلِ مراد چینند - بہ نسیمِ ہمتش گلہاے شگفتہ از شاخ میرویدتا غنچہ برخوردۂ خود مشت نیفشارد - در تیرِ بارانِ فاقہ زر بسپر می برند تا از گرانیِ عطا شاہینِ میزان صورتِ لا برنیارد - آرزوہا ہمہ در برکشیدۂ حصول - براتہا ہمہ سلم خریدۂ وصول - جوہریِ سحاب غرقِ عرقِ گوہر ریزیش و اکسیریِ آفتاب گرم تلاشِ زر بخشیش - اگر دریاست بخاک نشاندۂ اوست و اگر کانست بہ آب رساندۂ او۔

عقل را سیرگاه دیوانش — عدل را عهدگاه ایوانش
روشِ طرزِ عدل ودادانست — همه شاگردِ او ستادِ امینست
بارِ ناموسِ خلق برگردن — وه چه زیباست کارِ حق کردن

پنجم - شجاعت

بحدیثِ نیروی بازو پیش حکایتِ سرپنجۂ شیرِ زبان درکام وزبانِ مردم شکستہ و برماندۂ صفتِ رزمش گوش از استماعِ داستانِ هفتخوانِ رستم سیر نشستہ - ببازوے توانادم تیغش برتارکِ گردون شگاف اندازِ دو شستِ صاف نوکِ پیکانش درپشتِ قاف ناف ساز - نهیبش اگر درخواب بر عدو شبخون برد عجب کہ در بیداری سرازان ورطہ بیرون برد - اندازِ کمندِ شیر بندش از کمندِ طرۂ سلسلہ مویان تاب بردہ و دشنۂ تشنہ بخونِ اعدایش باتیغِ غمزۂ خوبان دریک کارخانہ آب خوردہ - زخمهاے کاری بہ پلارکِ عاشقِ تارک بودیعت سپردہ و در تقسیمِ غنایم تہور وجرأتِ غنیمان را غنیمت شمردہ - مثنوی

آورد در روِ غازکاسہ سر — بسرانگشت چشمِ شیر بدر
ظفر از تیغ او ستقصہ طراز — نیست بر دین زبانِ کفر دراز
زخم ریزد چو خنجرش برہم — اجل از دست افگند مرہم
چون بزہ کرد آشنا سوفار — شبہ سفت است در دلِ شبِ تار
از کمانش بجستہ تیر خطا — قبضہ از دستِ او گرفتہ قضا

چہارم - عدالت

کہ بصفتِ نصفت بعالم علمش ساختہ وگوشِ ستمدیگان را بصداے
کوس عدالتش نواختہ - بہ پیمانۂ انصافش دردِ ہمہ صاف و دعواے عادلیت
از ہر کہ غیر اوست گزاف - اگرچہ پیش ازین نوشیروان ممتاز از ان لقبِ
والا رتبت بود آن سراب این محیط و آن مجاز این حقیقت - نسیمے کہ از مہبِ
عدلِ او نوزیدہ درباغ و بوستان گلے برویش نخندیدہ و صبحے کہ از مشرقِ
انصافِ او ندمیدہ پرتوِ صادقش بہ آفاق نرسیدہ - اگر مہتاب نخِ کتانے
بگسلد ماہ طپانچۂ خورِ کلف است و اگر حرفِ ستم نفس زدۂ کسے گردد زبانِ
ناطقہ در معرضِ تلف - تند سیلے سست گیاہے را از جا نکند کہ حملۂ
اندیشۂ غضبش ابر را از ہزار جا مغز نشکند - ببازارِ کرمتش گوشِ
آزادگان در حلقۂ بیع و بسحابِ معدلتش کشتِ بے حاصلان در اجارۂ
ربیع - در کشورِ عمل کردۂ مذمتیان ہمہ تحسین و آفرین و بلرزہ فروشانِ
بازارِ عریانی معاملۂ دیے جلۂ فروردین

مثنوی

قلقلِ کوسِ عدل از بامش — مۓ عشرت مدام در جامش
زین قوی پنجہ زورِ بازوے عدل — عدل زانصافِ او ترازوے عدل
باورا ہے کنند در گلزار — گر خورد صدمہ برگِ گل از خار
ور ز خارے خلید نی زدہ سر — کرد راہِ گریز ناصیہ سر
ور بہ نخلے دو چار گشتہ خزان — کردہ رم چون حرارت از آبان
شیر در مہرِ برہ لیسیدن — گرگ در خونِ خویش غلتیدن

سجده بجا آرند - گردِ سجودِ درگاهش که بر پیشانی نشانید که از فرقِ فرقدان سایش فرکلاه کیانی ندمید - هر که آبادش نخواست خود را خراب ساخت وآنکه نزد و فایش نباخت دین و دنیا در باخت - تا ابرِ نیسان بهوایش نبارد گوهرِ آبِ شاهواری برندارد - کهین بندهٔ مهین قدرش بپایه بوسیِ سریر عرش نظیرش در پایهٔ میری و سلطانی و کمترینِ چاکر فلک چاکر ستیش درخوان گستریِ نوازش عالمی مخاطب بشاهنواز خانی - در بزمگاهِ عشرت جمشید را مشربِ جرعه خواری - بر درگاهِ همتش حاتم را منصبِ خاتم داری - قضا بکمانِ تدبیرش قدر انداز و الهام بسر گوشیِ ضمیرش سرفراز - مثنوی

شوکتش گر در آمدی بمکان	شق شدی چنبرِ زمین و زمان
هشت جنت گلے ز بستانش	هفت دریا نمے ز عمانش
تنگِ حلم کرده سنگینش	کوه راگو نشانده تمکینش
پر شد از حرفِ حشمتش دهنم	حبذا شان و شوکتِ سخنم
در ثنایش ز ارجمندیها	میکند کو تهی بلندیها
فخرِ گردون بجاست اقبالیست	خاکِ راهست نسبتش عالیست
نه همین شاهِ کشورش خوانند	در همه چیز سرورش دانند
نه بجاهش عدیل نے به هنر	صد فلاطون هزار اسکندر
چرخ گردون که امِ صبح دمند	که برویش وان یکادنه خوانند

ایمان خارا بنیان و بد ستیاری تربیتش درگاہِ محکمۂ علیہ دارا و ربان ۔ سجلِ محبت گیر رودادِ گماشتگانِ شہر و دیار بمہرِ امضاے قاضیانِ قضا قدرت در تزئین و در محفلِ تربیت و آئین امثالِ متمکنانِ مسندِ شریعت بر فرامین و احکامِ بادشاہی مقدم نشین ۔ در ترددِ شارعِ شرع گردِ تعصب از دامانِ جد و جہد فشاندہ و محبتِ ہر یک از مقربانِ درگاہ را در محفلِ دلِ الہام منزل بجاے خود نشاندہ ۔ دلیلِ مبحثِ پیشروِیش پیرویِ اصحابِ کبار و برہانِ پاکیِ طینتش محبت ائمہ اطہار ۔ مثنوی

حرفِ نیکان ہمہ تولایش	بر بدان ضربتِ تبرّایش
نخلِ بدعت نشاندگان بے بر	تنِ سر بر گرفتگان بے سر
کرد از ہم جدا حق و باطل	دو جہان مزرعیست او حاصل
نفس سرکش ز زیر دستانش	در پرستش خدا پرستانش
عنف از را فتش مدارائی	حلقہ در گوشِ شرع دارائی
نظمِ ہر کار و بار بر شرع است	کفر را ہم مدار بر شرع است
گرز دار القضا نشان آرند	آسمان را کشان کشان آرند
تا نبارد سحاب تجرۂ شرع	لبِ تفسیدہ تر نسازد زرع
چون نور زد غرد با اعدا	غرّہ کردش شریعت غرّا

سوم ۔ شان و شوکت و جاہ و حشمت

باید کہ بلند تلاشان سایہ دار سر بزیر پا نہند تا در آستانِ زمین آسائش

دستیست که صداعش صندل چاره از پیشانیِ برهمنان نبرد۔ از صدمۂ توحیدش دوئی دریکی گریخته و بعلاقۂ تجریدش خودی در توئی آویخته۔ گوشے حق شنو چشمے حق بین دلے حق جو خاطرے عرفان زا سینہ معرفت خیز تارکے آسمان سا جبهه سجده ریز۔

مثنوی

پاے رفعت بر آسمان دارد	سرِ خدمت بر آستان دارد
در عبادت بگفتن و دیدن	طرزِ او طرزِ حق پرستیدن
خلوتِ دیگران و صحبتِ او	وحدتِ این و آن و کثرتِ او
در دلش این و آن نمی گنجد	هیچ جز حق دران نمی گنجد
بت شکن گشت چون خلیل نخست	بادش ارزانی اعتقاد درست
کفر در فکرِ نکتۂ عرفان	شرک در شکرِ نعمتِ ایمان
طینتش باج خواه طینتها	نیتش بادشاهِ نیتها
در عبادت زہے تنومندی	بندگی در خورِ خداوندی
سرِ وحدت بمغز بردازپوست	همه او کرد خویش را همه اوست

دوم

سعادتِ اطاعتِ شریعتِ غرّاے مصطفوی و دولتِ افراشتنِ لواے ولاے مرتضوی را به پیرایۂ اجتهادش رونق بر شرع مفتون و بدرستی اعتقادش کارِ ملت از شکستِ مصئون۔ بقبولِ امرش دستِ معروف را بر سر و به ردِّ نهیش زخمِ منکران منکر۔ فرقِ دین آسودۂ سایۂ عصاے کلاهیش و خشورِ ترویجِ ملت نمک مائدۂ شهنشاهیش۔ بپامردیِ تقویتش پابستِ کاخ

نثر دوم

مسمّٰی بہ

گلزار ابراہیم

بسم اللّٰہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

خرّمیِ چمنِ سخن بطراوتِ صدبہار پیرائیست کہ گلزار ابراہیم در رخسارِ
یوسف طلعتانِ نمرود نخوت رسانیدہ و تاجداریِ لفظ و معنی بہ حشمتِ ثناسے
تارک آرائیست کہ سمّیِ خلیلِ خود یعنی ابراہیم عادلشاہ را در صفت التسلیم
بہ نہ صفت یگانہ و ممتاز گردانیدہ۔

اوّل ـ معرفت

کہ با وجودِ حُجبِ کثرت در مشاہدۂ شاہدِ وحدت معنیِ کلام معجز نظام
لوکشف الغطاءُ ما ازددت یقیناً وصفِ حال او ساختہ۔ گلستانِ نیت
و بوستانِ عقیدتش از خس و خاشاکِ شک و شبہہ پرداختہ۔ مجموعۂ عرفانِ
موحّدان فردے از دفترِ شناسائیش۔ عنفوانِ تسلیمِ ماسوا پسندیدۂ طبعِ مواسانیش
بتوضیحِ بیانش نشانہ بے نشان ہمہ دلنشین و خاطرنشان۔ بہ آفتابِ جہانگرد
تاکیدِ نظر بر دو بینان نینداختن و بہ معتورِ قضا تہدید با حوالِ احولان نہ پرداختن
زنار را با سبحہ نہ پیوندیست کہ گسیختنش بر کشاکشِ کیشیشان نخندد و کفر را با ایمان

APPENDIX B

Part II.—"*Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*"

OR

The Rose-Garden of Abraham

APPENDIX B

II

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE AND THE MERCIFUL

THE SECOND PREFACE

THE ROSE-GARDEN OF ABRAHAM

The cheerfulness[1] of the garden of discourse is due to the moisture of the praise of the Embellisher of Spring who has produced the fiery glow of the garden of Abraham[2] on the cheeks of the Joseph-countenanced, with the pride of Nimrod (*i.e.*, those who are beautiful like Joseph and proud as Nimrod) and the sovereignty of the word and meaning is due to the grandeur of the praise of that Decorator of the heads Who has made the name-sake of His Friend,[3] namely, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, unique and distinguished in the seven regions of the globe with the gift of nine virtues.

The first virtue is

Divine Knowledge, which, in spite of the veils of multiplicity in contemplation of the beloved of Unity, has made the meaning of the miraculously expressed saying

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[1] خرمی Lit mirth or joyfulness. Here, it stands for 'freshness and bloom.'

[2] گلزار ابراهیم A reference to the fire lit by Nimrod for burning the Prophet Abraham.

The moment he was thrown into it God commanded the fire to become peace. Cf. the verse of the Qur'ān

یا نار کونی بردا و سلاما علی ابراهیم

[3] خلیل A friend, the recognised cognomen of the Prophet Abraham who was the Friend of God.

"even if the veil was lifted I would not be more certain,"[1] an attribute of him (*i e*, although God is concealed from view by the veils of multiplicity, yet the king with his perfect knowledge of Him is not debarred from seeing Him) The garden of his intention and belief is free from the wattle and straw of scruples and doubt The volume of the Divine Knowledge of Monotheists is but a sheet from the book of his knowledge of God (*i e*, the knowledge of all the believers in one God, put together is only a small fraction of the King's knowledge of Him). The severity and violence of God's creatures is agreeable to his yielding disposition (*i e*, if any one of his subjects is rude or insolent to him, he endures it and does not take it ill) By the lucidity of his speech the clue to the Clueless become obvious and convincing The revolving sun is instructed not to cast its eye on the double sighted, and the painter of Destiny is warned against paying attention to the condition of the squint-eyed[2] The sacred cord of the Brahmans has no such weak ingraft with the rosary of the Mohammadans that its breaking may laugh at the struggle of the priests (*i e*, Hinduism and Islam are so knit together that all the attempts on the parts of the priests to sever one from the other are utterly futile) The understanding between Atheism

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[1] لو... يقينا Words uttered by 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, meaning

> "Even if the veil was removed, I would not increase my belief" That is to say his belief in the existence of God was from the very beginning so perfect that it required no proof whatsoever of a direct or indirect nature to give it more firmness or stability.

[2] احول ; Those afflicted with double vision, *i.e*, incapable of discerning Truth which is essentially one, Cf, Truth is one error manifold

and Faith is not so slight but that the headache of the latter may cause the former to get the sandal of cure from the forehead of the Brahmans (i.e., Paganism on account of union with Islām administers to the needs of the latter, that is, promotes its cause) From the dread of his belief in Unity, duality has fled into Oneness, and by relation of his abstraction from worldly concerns, *self* is merged into God He possesses a truth-listening ear, a truth-seeking heart, an inspired breast, a sky-like head, and a brow pouring out prostrations

Masnawī

He has the foot of sublimity on the sky, and the head of devotion ever low at the threshold of the Almighty (i.e., although his worldly position is very high, yet his head is ever low in devotion to God) In his speech and observation, he is in devotion, his mode is the right mode of worship The seclusion of others and his being in company are alike, the unity of this and that and his multiplicity are equal (i.e., though he is in the company of men, and engaged in the transaction of worldly affairs, he is ever lost in the contemplation of God. He does not engage his heart to this or that, nothing finds a place in it but God. He became an iconoclast[1] like Khalil from

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[1] بت‌شکن: A reference to the Prophet Abraham who once got into the tavern of the idol-worshippers and broke there all the images with the exception of one, the biggest of them, which he left untouched. On being questioned as to whether he did it, he replied that the biggest of the idols might have done that and exhorted the people to go to the temple and inquire of that idol, which, being their Supreme Deity, must reply. The people took the hint and many of them got ashamed and gave up idol-worship.

the very beginning, may true faith be in store for him. Heathenism is in search of divine knowledge; infidelity offers thanks for the boon of faith (*i.e.*, even an unbeliever, on account of the king's purity of heart is learning to seek God's knowledge, and Scepticism is grateful that it has been endowed with the blessing of faith) His nature is the receiver of tribute from all natures, his intention is the king of all intentions. What a readiness he shows in devotion! His devotion is in proportion to his sovereignty[1] (or is in accordance with the commandments of God) He carried the mystery of Unity from his skin (deep in) to his marrow,[2] and absorbed himself wholly in Him (*i. e.*, having discovered the essence of the unity of God, he identified himself wholly with Him, or that, he gave marrow to the head of unity which was an empty skull before, so that he turned the حال into قال)

The second virtue is

the good fortune of submission to the lustrous teachings of Mohammad, and the boon of lifting the banner of affection for 'Alī Through the boon of his researches in religion,[3] prosperity is enamoured of the Islamic Law (*i e*, under the king's fostering care, the exercise of the virtues dictated by Islamic Law is vigorously carried on), and through the soundness of his

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[1] This passage is susceptible of a double interpretation It may mean either (a) that the king's piety is as great as his regal state, or, if شاهانه ی refers to God, (b) the king's devotional activities are just as God would have them

[2] از پوست بمغز بردن To carry from the shell to the Kernel, *i.e.*, to grasp a thing fully

[3] اجتهاد: A term used in Mohammadan Law, meaning to deduce a conclusion from the verses of the Qur'ān or the traditions of the Prophet

belief, the work of religion is secure against ruin. The hand of the dignitaries is on their foreheads to accept his commands and the wound of the refractory is frightful for disregarding his prohibitions (*i.e.*, the most distinguished accept his commands, and the disobedient are ever smarting under the wounds of affliction.) The forehead of religion is at rest under the shelter of his kingly crown (*i.e.*, religion enjoys perfect peace under his benign rule) The fame of the spread of religion is the salt of the table-cloth of his sovereignty (*i.e.*, just as salt gives taste to food, so also the spread of religion serves as an ornament to the empire) With the firm support of his encouragement, the foundation of the palace of Faith has a rocky basis, through the help of his fostering care the High Court of Judicature has Darius for its gate-keeper (*i.e.*, he has appointed high officials to see justice done to the poor and Darius of proverbial justness occupies the position of the porter there). The administrative writs issued by the governors of the towns and cities are decorated with the seal of the all-powerful *Qāzīs* (*i.e.*, the country is ruled according to the laws of Islām); and in the assembly of his government and legislation, the orders of the occupants of the chair of Islamic Law[1] have a preponderance over the royal decrees and commands. In treading the path[2] of Islamic Law he has beaten the dust of prejudice from off the skirt of his endeavour, and has assigned a place in his heart, which is the seat of revelation, to the love and affection of every one of his courtiers in accordance with their respective deserts. The argument brought in support of the discussion of the subject-matter of his leadership is decisive through his being

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[1] شرع : Islamic legislature established by the authority of the Qur'ān and the actions of the Prophet.

[2] شارع : An expounder of the articles of Faith. Also means thoroughfare. Here, used in the latter sense.

a follower of the chief companions of the Prophet (i.e., the credential of his premier authority is based upon his following in the footsteps of the chief companions of the Prophet, or, that his supremacy as a leader is undoubted in that he adheres to the traditions maintained by the first Caliphs of the Islamic Republic), and the proof of the purity of his nature is his affection for the holy *Imāms*

Masnawi

His entire love is devoted to the virtuous; his lash of rebuke is directed against the vicious (i e, he loves the good and hates the vicious) The palm-tree of the planters of heresy bears no fruit, the body of the headstrong is headless (i.e., their heads are cut off by him) He has separated truth from falsehood, both the worlds are a sown-field and he is its product. Head-strong passion is one of his subordinates, the worshippers of God are amongst his worshippers (i e., obedient to him). Rudeness has become politeness through his favour, his kingship is a slave to Islamic Law The administration of every department rests on Islamic Law; even disbelief in God has that law for its basis

If a summons were issued from his court of justice, they would drag the sky itself (i.e., there is no resisting to the Islamic injunctions, even the sky cannot but submit to them). The corn-field cannot moisten its dry lip until the cloud brings in the rain from the sea of the Islamic Law (i.e., the Islamic Law regulates and controls everything in his empire, so that nothing is done contrary to that law). Why should he not feel proud before his enemies? The luminous law of Islām has made him bright.

The third is his .

Pomp and glory, greatness, and magnificence. It is meet that the seekers of high position should first, like a

shadow, place their heads under their feet so that they may make a bow at the threshold of his heaven-like earth. No one ever smeared his forehead with the dust of humble obeisance at his door but the glory of the *Ka'ānī* cap shone forth from his lofty head. Whoever did not wish him prosperity ruined himself, and whoever did not play the game of his fidelity staked both his religion and the world, (*i.e.* he who was not loyal to him ruined both materially and spiritually). Until the vernal cloud[1] lets its drops fall at his wish, the pearl cannot enjoy the lustre of royalty. The low slave of high dignity, by kissing the foot of his '*Arsh*-like throne, enjoys the position of an Amīr and a king, and his lowest servant whose slave is the sky, has received the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān by spreading the table-cloth of his world-wide hospitality. In the banquet-house of his festivity, Jamshīd has the function of a draught-taster. At the door of his magnanimity Hātim is allotted the duty of a seal-bearer. Destiny in the bow of his plan is a sure archer, and Inspiration by whispering into his heart has its position exalted.

Masnawī

If his pomp were to be confined in a space, the canopy of the earth and time would crack. The eight heavens are only a rose from his garden, the seven seas a moisture from his ocean. The anchor of gentleness has made him weighty, his weightiness has seated the mountain in a pit (*i.e.*, it is due to his dignity that the mountains are deep-rooted in the earth). My mouth is filled with repeated mentions of his glory; what a pomp and grandeur my word possesses! Heights fall short of his praise on account of his loftiness. The greatest

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[1] نیسان Name of the seventh Syrian month corresponding to the English month April during which rain drops are believed to produce pearls.

flight of encomium is found lowly on account of the sublimity of his position (i.e., no words uttered in the King's praise can be censured as exaggerated) The pride of the sky is proper, it is lucky; it is the dust of the King's path, and has, therefore, a high rank (i.e., the loftiness of the sky is derived from his elevated position, and is hence justly proud of itself) They call him not only the Emperor of territory but also know him to be the lord of everything He has no equal either in dignity or in accomplishments, neither a hundred Platos nor a thousand Alexanders can vie with him What morning did the revolving sky breathe forth without reading وان یکاد[1] over his face (to shield the king from the evils incident to the day)

The fourth virtue is his

'Justice'—which has acquired for him world-wide fame[2] for possessing the quality of equity, and has entertained the ear of the oppressed with the sound of the drum of his justice. In the cup of his justice the dregs are clear of impurity, and the claim for being just of any one other than himself is but an idle talk. Though before his time Naushirwān was distinguished with the high appellation of the Just, yet that was a mirage,[3] this is a sea, that was an allegory, this is a reality. The breeze which did not blow from the seat of his justice had

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[1] This is a verse of the Qur'ān, reputed to divert the effect of the evil eye. The following is the full text:

وان یکاد الذین کفروا لیزلقونک بابصارهم لما سمعوا الذکر و یقولون
انه لمجنون ۔

[2] علم ساختن An idiomatic expression meaning: 'to make one famous or wellknown' The simile is taken from the banner which occupies a conspicuous position and is easily distinguishable from afar.

[3] سراب A vapour resembling the sea at a distance, formed by the reflection of the sun's meridian rays upon the surface of the sandy plains; anything unreal.

no flower in the garden to smile over its face, and the morn which has not dawned from the East of his justice, has not cast its true light over the world (i.e., could not illumine the world). If the moon breaks a thread of jute linen (which is believed to be torn into pieces in the moonlight) it receives a blow as is apparent from its spot (i.e., it gets the spot as if it were the impression of a *blow* on its face), and if the word '*tyranny*' is uttered by the mouth of any one, the tongue of Speech is on the verge of destruction. No violent deluge uproots a gentle grass but that the pricking dread of the King's wrath breaks the brain of the cloud at a thousand places. In the market of his bounty the ear of the free people is in the ring of sale (i.e., the free have become his slaves as a mark of indebtedness to him for his bounty); and with the cloud of his justice the corn-field of those who get no produce is brought into the monopoly of fertility (i.e., owing to his world-wide justice, even those fields that were barren become fertile). In the domain of action, the deeds of the wicked are entirely praiseworthy; and through the justice of the King the pinching cold of December has changed into the mildness of March for the ague-sellers of the market of nakedness (i.e., owing to the justice of the King the nature of winter is changed so that the piercing cold of December does no more bite the shivering naked people).

Masnawi

The sound of the beating of the drum of justice is heard from his balcony, the wine of rejoicing is ever in his cup. Religion is strong-handed with the arm of his justice; justice with his equity has become a balance of justice (i.e., people now administer real justice among themselves). They cut the heels of the wind in the garden if a petal sustains injury at the hands of a thorn. If a thorn shows a tendency to prick, the power of growth in it begins to take to its heels. If the autumn

comes face to face with a tree, it runs away as does heat from the month of Ābān The lion is licking the lamb through fondness, and the wolf is drenched in its own blood. His court is a pleasure garden for wisdom, and his place a palace of mirth for justice. Such is the way of justice and such is the manner of equity, all are pupils ; he is the teacher He has the burden of the honour of men on his neck, how excellent is his way of doing his duty to God.

The fith virtue is bravery

By the fame of the might of his arm the story of the strength of a lion's claw is broken in the palate and tongue of people, and at the table of his praise for fighting in battle the ear is sitting satisfied against the hearing of the story of the seven exploits[1] of *Rustam* With his powerful arm the edge of his sword can cause a rift in the head of the sky, and with his accurate aim his arrow can bore a navel into the back of the Caucasus If his terror leads a night attack on the enemy in his dream it is no wonder if the latter can ever get his head out of that danger even when awake. The texture of his lion-capturing noose has borrowed its twists from the ringlets of the curly-haired, and his dagger, which is thirsty for the blood of his enemies, is tempered in one manufactory together with the sword of the blandishment of the beautiful. He has entrusted fatal wounds to the head-loving scimitar, and in distributing the articles of plunder, he has treated the vanity and boldness of his enemies as a lawful booty

[1] هفتخوان رستم : Seven dangerous places between Irān and Tūrān, where the champion *Rustam* and also *Asfandyar* met with perilous adventures in their respective journeys.

Masnawi

With the tip of his finger he pulls out the eyes of a lion from its skull in fight Victory tells the tale of his sword, the tongue of infidelity does not disparage religion With the successive infliction of wounds by his dagger Death throws down salve from its hand (i e., even if Death wishes to cure such wounds it cannot) When he fitted the arrow to the bow-string he bored a hole in a black coral in the heart of a dark night (i. e., at midnight) Never an arrow leapt from his bow that Death itself did not, at every such occasion, take the hilt from his hand (i e., even Death, feeling its inferiority to kill with so much certainty, was ever ready to learn the art of accurate shooting from the king) To lay down a record of his victories how many pens of hands were cut off! (i e., he killed his enemies in large numbers and thus provided sufficient material for his conquests to be written down in books) Look at the cherished desires of his enemy lying doomed, no one wielded the sword of revenge in such a way In festival and in battle his wine-cup and his dagger are always dripping with Venus and Mars. The battlefield is his garden, the love of the Lion of God ('Ali) is his armour

The sixth is his

munificence. The openness of his palm has not left narrowness in the world, except in the heart of the wicked, and the mouth of the beloved. The veils that he has lifted off the face of defects, have been cast on the eyes of the fault-finders (i. e., in his reign defects are non-existent, and his generosity has caused viciousness to disappear from the eyes of the wicked), and the locks that he has removed from the door of the treasury have been put upon the mouths of the critics (i. e., the mouths of the critics have been shut by the bestowal of wealth). None of the grandees has so sewn the garment of generosity as to preclude the hand of a critic from reaching it, and none of the spenders

of the table-cloth so cooked the kettle of hospitality that the remark of its being inadequately cooked may not pass on a taunting tongue (i e., the King tops the list of all munificent personages, and is above adverse remark)

Avarice is one of the released prisoners of despair at the time of appeal to his generosity (i e, even avarice is satisfied with the excess of his bounty) The sky eats morsels of the sun and the moon from the tray of his hospitality. The night-dreams of the poor, of high fortune, are endowed with reality at morning by referring to the garden of his generosity in picking up the flowers of their object (i e the dreams of the poor at night for the acquirement of wealth are realised by his liberality in the day) By the breeze of his high-mindedness blossomed flowers grow on the twigs so that the bud may not keep its fist closed on its gold. When the clouds rain arrows of starvation people carry money in shields (it is not weighed) so that, on account of the excess of his bounty, the pointer of the royal balance may not assume the shape of (meaning *nil* which would indicate a refusal) Hopes are in the bosom of fulfilment Grants are like advance money bought of disbursement (i e., pay-bills are received by people in advance as if their value is already paid to the treasury) The jeweller of cloud is drowned in the perspiration of shame to see his pearl-scattering; I the alchemic power of the sun is in eager search for his bestowal of gold. If there is a sea it is made to set on the dust by him (i.e., made to touch the earth) and if there is a mine it is made to reach the surface of the water (i.e., sent down very deep).

Couplets

When Destiny wrote the record of existence, it wrote on his palm the writ of munificence (i.e., assigned this quality to him). His palm is an ocean and his bounty a cloud; the field of the hope of the world is irrigated by his bounty. If

the sea brags of fulness before him, its pearl (which is the cause of its pride) becomes trash like a bubble

His promise is a king and its fulfilment his army, there is no waiting for the fulfilment of his promise (just as a king has a large army so his single promise is attended by several performances) The moon is under the seal of his royal coinage, the purse of the fish is submerged into *dirhams*[1] All the efforts of the sun to prove its alchemic power are vain before his bounty The needy do not even quite open their lips for help that they (members of the royal house) give them[2] both the worlds at a single solicitation His least bestowal is a country, a city, and a village, the cash of a hundred treasure is given away at a single request. A difficult task was imposed on the pearl-producing cloud when it looked at the pearl-scattering hand of the King (i.e., since he has seen his hand giving away so liberally, it has to do an enormous amount of labour in producing pearls for the full exercise of his bounty).

The seventh virtue is his comely form and world-embellishing countenance

Beauty, which had descended to Joseph from Abraham by inheritance and which was so long kept in deposit behind the curtain of mystery, is now again handed over to Ibrāhīm by *Time*, the deliverer of trusts. The possessors of inward sight are those who use their eyes in looking at his beautiful countenance, and the masters of affection are such heartless

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[1] The spot on the face of the moon is here compared to a coin and the scale on the back of the fish to a *dirham* (also a coin)

[2] [illegible]: The subject of this verb is the Royal Court (i.e., the King himself (understood) and not [illegible] as appears to be at the first sight.

persons as surrender their hearts to his love. In emitting light, his forehead is the torch of the valley of Moses. In bloom and freshness his cheek is like the garden of Abraham. With the story of his stature the dreams of people are all pleasure[1] and with the talk of his gait, breaths are trampled under feet. In the pleasure-house of his love, melancholy hearts are immune from care, and in the garden of his countenance, faded looks are full of moisture (*i.e.*, freshness) Those who enjoy life like *Perwiz*, sip a drop from his Jamshid-like cup, and the moon-faced are in the meshes of his sunny net.

Masnavi

The eye becomes a bed of suns by looking at his face (*i.e.*, his face is so bright that the eye of a spectator, on account of the excess of brightness, seems to have many suns in its sight), the brain is a garden of spikenard from his hair (*i.e.*, his hair is so fragrant that it fills the brain with sweet scent and makes it a garden of spikenard) Beauty is astonished[2] to see his countenance, *Tūbā* has its foot struck into the ground[3] by looking at his stature. His cheek is a fresh spring of the garden of Paradise, the lamp of *Harem* bears the scar of a victim moth He made the mirror the reflector of radiance, and filled it with the sun and the moon (*i.e.*, when he looked his face in the mirror, a number of suns and moons were reflected owing to the excessive brightness of his face).

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[1] A play on the word نهال which also means 'a tree' It is an appropriate word in connection with قامت the sight of which is pleasing to the eye

[2] دست بدل. Hand on the heart an idiomatic expression used to indicate amazement or anxiety

[3] پاے در گل ماندن : To have one's foot stuck into the clay. The expression is used when one is so dazzled and amazed that his motion is lost

His heart is a treasure for the pearl of love; his face a granary for the grain of beauty Neither the sun nor the moon had such a charm, every look that went up to him was arrested Fascination in the heart of beloveds is derived from him (i.e., the power of attraction in them has been borrowed from him), the love of Jacob[1] and the beauty of Joseph proceed from him. Before his face Paradise is ashamed of itself, how charming is the disposition of the master of such a disposition! May the wine of his affection be a fortification for senses, may my brimful cup be pleasing and tasteful to me.

The eight is his good nature and pleasant manners

He is the possessor of politeness and perfection and the sum total of the qualities of glory and beauty By reading the book of his affection even those devoid of love have become commentators of the book of friendship (i.e., his manners and kind treatment are so charming that even strangers become his fast friends); and on the path of treading in his footsteps (i.e., leadership) *Khizr*[2] thirsts for the vale of his guidance. The rain of the cloud of his judgment is the pacifier of the dust of dispute and enmity, and nourishes the tree of reform and rectitude Crumb-eating at the table of his magnanimity is the elixir for the boon of satiety, and the tasting of the honey of his kindness is the

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[1] A reference to Jacob's life-long agony of pain in separation of his dearest son Joseph who was betrayed by his brothers through sheer jealousy and thrown into a well, whence he was picked up by a caravan and sold in Egypt Subsequently he became king after great sufferings and met his father again

[2] The Prophet *Khizr* who discovered and drank *Nectar*, whereby he became immortal. He is supposed to be touring round the world, and helping people in many ways,

progenitor of the relish of control over wrath. With the sight of the moon of his bright judgment, light is heaped up in the eyes. With the powerful arm of the bright ray of his heart, the throat of the sun is in suffocation. The bubble of the violent rain of the cloud of his promise is like an anvil (i.e., his promise is so firm that even an empty bubble of it is as solid as the anvil); and the teeth of the file of Destiny are too blunt to gnaw down the chain of his vow. At the thought of his delicacy, the narcissus is immersed in shame, and with the discernment of the height of his forbearance, the mountain has its back broken. In contrast with the softness of his pleasing temper, the silken garment of the jessamine is coarse, and in comparison to the scent of the garden of his politeness, the fragrance of Khutan is offensive. His forehead in openness is a plain of the heart of the recluse (i.e., his forehead is as broad as the heart of a hermit is large). His sight is in purity the film of the eye of the beholders of God.

Couplets

The honey of his favour is the salt of life, the sea of his bounty is in search of the thirsty. Generosity itself has fixed its eye on his favour, Decoration has acquired lustre from his stature. The sun is a line from the page of his enmity; the mountain is a straw before the stone of his weightiness. If bitter words full of poison pass over his lips, they become sweet. When he speaks harshly[1] and gently, who can know the marrow from the bone? (i.e. in conversation he so modulates

[1] If چرب is taken in the sense of 'fluency' or 'force,' as distinct from harshness, the meaning would be

'harsh words, through his command of expression, appear soft, so that none can ever make any difference between the two.'

harshness with gentleness that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other).

There is not such pleasure and grief in the world as the latter may have occasion to feel shame with the change of circumstances (*i.e.*, *grief* has become extinct, and *pleasure* that has taken its place is beyond the possibility of deterioration through the ravages of Time). The sky and its mansion may collapse, but the arch of his contract and promise cannot break. He alone accomplished his work who agreed with him; one who surrendered his *self* to his love triumphed over all. What did one see who did not see his cheek? What did one hear who did not hear him?

The ninth is the virtue of acquiring excellences and perfection

In estimating his bright genius the lofty sky is a cripple, and in contrast with his meditation and sound judgment, the deep sea is a tiny wave. With the miracle of his *David*-like songs he softens the iron hearts into wax, and with the freshness of his *bārbud*-like notes, he picks away the dryness from off the brain of the pious (*i.e.*, even pious people, who have no passion for music, are amused with his charming melodies). In the garden of music, the body of Venus, with the flower of acknowledgment of his pupilship is decorating her head (*i.e.*, Venus considers it an honour to acknowledge herself as his pupil in the art of music), and on the page of his writing the cipher of Jupiter[1] has its position exalted by the cipher of his testing pen.

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[1] Just as each cipher placed after another increases the value tenfold, so his cipher placed with the cipher of Jupiter heightens its position.

If the nightingale mingles its breath with the songs composed by the King, it would fling down from its beak both its old melody and the petal of flower (which it loves so much). With the honey of his eloquence the taste of fluency has pervaded the throat and the tongue, and with the key of his oratory the lock of stammering has been removed from the door of speech. With the light of his description the evening-hearted become morning-featured;[1] and through his lucid expression even dullards have become long-tongued (i.e., acquired fluency). Who (but him) has the the power of access to pure meaning? His high intellect has placed it on a high niche (so that none can reach it) Who has the power of purchasing dignified words? His eloquence has already paid their price in advance. His composition has the purity of the pearl of Aden; his words have the freshness of an old turquoise

Couplets

With the sweat of exertion he has moistened his forehead, so that the reputation of Art be preserved Speech has become pure gold through him, his thought is the copper, and his genius the alchemist (i.e., thought is transmuted into pure gold by his genius) The cup of his words with the fulness of meaning frees intellect from drowsiness (i.e, sharpens and gives tone to intellect.) The hopes of imagination are fulfilled by him, he forbade them from mixing with the non-fulfilment. Every word of his is a precious pearl, the ear has placed its eye of hope on his mouth. The sky is humble before the loftiness of his speech, the Sirius is only a dot from among the dots of his

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[1] شامدلان صبح طرازی . Those whose hearts are dim like evening receive the light of morn, i.e., their blunt and gloomy hearts become bright and cheerful like the day

verses. By his mode of expression,[1] there is a gracefulness to comprehension, hearing is in love with his talk. Who but him beat the drum of sovereignty in the name of mastery from above the balcony of mastership?

What an excellent just monarch he is, of perfect fortune with a heart like wax, and a promise like iron, with light obligation but heavy bestowal,[2] a mountain in weight but light as straw in enmity (*i.e.*, with no passion for revenge), a captivator of hearts, a tamer of minds, of sweet speech, hearer of bitter words, a forgiver, the extradicator of crimes, the maker of home in the hearts of strangers, the embellisher of humility, the extinguisher of pride, his heart in control, aloof from all and yet with all, with the visage of Joseph, a shelter for beauty, of the name of Abraham, of the threshold of the Ka'ba to whom, from eternity, no lack of bounty was shown in the court of God's bestowal, and for whom the pen of Destiny wrote whatever was pleasing and tasteful to his wishes.

The year and month of his eternity-bound age are taking a pleasure-walk in the orchard of the third tens,[3] and yet the fame of his attainment and perfection has reached the brain of the residents of the seventh sky. They are the deniers of boon (ungrateful) who at the table of his skill in the art of music put no faith in his mastership and do not sow the seed of gratefulness for his pupilage in the soil of their palate and tongue (*i.e.*, those who neither acknowledge him as their teacher

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[1] [illegible]. The first [illegible] is used in the sense of delivery or 'expression', the second means beauty or 'charm.'

[2] The sense is that he is very generous but does not let people feel that they are under his obligation.

[3] *I.e.*, his age is between 20 and 30 years.

nor thank him for the manifold advantages they have derived from him are ungrateful people). Who ever possesses the tongue of gratefulness? (i.e., none can adequately thank him for his gifts). With the generous grant of gold and silver (from the King) the purses of those skilled in their arts are heavy, and with the bestowal of meaning and matter, the works of the poets are beaming with lustre By mentioning one or two prized meanings out of the many given by the King, which are laid down in my poetic record, I only mean to give the reader a little idea of the King's erudition. One day some verses were being read in praise of a fat leopard and dispraise of a lean horse before the masters of learning in the King's heaven-like court. It might perhaps have occurred to the audience that the King's high genius did not intentionally like to comment on them owing to lethargy, for there could, of course, be no doubt as to the King's loftiness of imagination and force of thought His sense of quick perception having found this out, some twenty or thirty meanings with suggestive similes were given by him in a most impressive manner The one he uttered was that if the leopard was not tied to the pegs of his own spots at a hundred places, with the chain of his veins and sinews, it might be feared that the animal would quickly leap away from his own skin The other was that the horse was so weak and feeble that if during the time its picture was being drawn, there was slight shake to the pen, the horse would fall to the ground, and like a sketch produce imprints on the earth. I swear by truthfulness that there is no exaggeration in this statement, and that such explanations befit our capacities and power of grasp, otherwise the meanings which he can give are weightier than what can be borne by the neck of the mighty possessors of learning and intellect. May those with a grounding in learning enjoy the benefit of their attendance in the King's library, which is a place where God's blessings are poured on men, and which is a school for the

training of the teachers of meaning, who are in reality the pupils of his High Majesty the King, the shadow of God. They have a court of justice in the Royal palace, and an assembly of pleasure and festivity in the garden, and for them the superintendence of the bounty and munificence in the treasury, and of meditation over arts and other perfections in the Royal library, is reserved. In reality the absentees who having taken out the marrow of their perfections and putting it in what they term a book are sitting in close contact with one another, are virtually present, and derive benefit in perpetuity (i. e., old authors who in their lifetime had failed to get one appreciation are, now, in their works, honoured through the King's patronage of literature) The instructions which have been up to this time received on the art of versification and poetry, explaining the fitness of place, the gravity of the basis of discourse, clearness of style, introduction, consolidation, conclusion, prolixity, illustration summary, ambiguity, gravity of style, beauty of allusion, grandeur of meaning, excellence of words appropriateness of connection, compactness of letters, evenness of construction, felicity of rhyme, suitability of metre, search for hilarity, lucidness of text, purity of language, sweat of exertion, early rise from sleep, mortification of receiving gratuity and the beggarly habit of accepting it and the like, have been laid down in the preface of the book *Nauras*, with whose fame the old inn of the world is resounding

Praise be to God that through the boon of his teaching I, in my old age, am, feeling the vigour of youth, and running side by side with the master-riders of this art. And what progress can be greater than this that the sun of his training, having cast its rays of favour, has made an obscure person like Zahûri famous (i. e., the King's patronage of literature is evident from the conspicuous position granted to Zahûri, who, afore time, had been but an unknown individual). And in the adornment of the Rose-garden of Abraham he (i. e., Zahûri) is

a co-partner of Malik-ul-Kalām,[1] who is unique and unrivalled, and whose branch is grown side by side with the root, and whose magic goes shoulder to shoulder with miracle. Ay, the strength of a drop to swim is due to the arm of the current of the sea,[2] and the lustre in the grain of sand is from the reflection of the world-decorating sun. Notwithstanding the work of administration and the care for the welfare of his subjects and the army, to take upon his shoulder the burden of *Jugat Gurū's* (educating the whole world), and to bear the pains of training his pupils, is for no other purpose but to show kindness and favour to both the people and the world and also to the possessors of intrinsic worth, so that their intellectual capacity may not fall to decay, and they may be thoroughly benefited thereby

Until mercy and kindness are found to this height (*i. e.*, administered to this extent) ascending a royal throne is not possible for anyone, and until one becomes a sea of compassion and politeness, the pearl of monarchy and rulership cannot be secured. The superiority of kings lies in their showing kindness and mercy, and not in the length and breadth of their empires.

Hemistich

The kinder the man, the greater the monarch

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[1] Lit king of composition surname of Qumī, a famous poet at the court of Bījāpūr, who afterwards became Zuhūrī's father-in-law.

[2] Just as the drop of water in the ocean is drifted along by the force of the waves and has no power by itself, similarly Zuhūrī (who is here compared to a drop) has got his power and influence in the country through the favour and patronage of the king (who is compared to an ocean).

Weeping has never again spread the carpet of tears over a face upon which his favour once smiled. The infant which once sucked the tip of the finger of his kindness no longer sucked his mother's breast. In mentioning his kindness that is his sweet talk with me which is in itself a certificate of honour and a testimonial of confidence reposed in my humble self, my writing pen has a tongue (i. e., I wish to give here an instance of the gracious conversation the king had with me). Since there is a secret conversation[1] between humbleness and pride, once at an opportune moment, I said that the deprivation of the honour of kissing the royal carpet had, like the patience of lovers, exceeded all bounds, and the burden of loneliness on the shoulder of the light-hearted was extremely heavy. To this he replied in words more saltish than the salt of love:

> If thou wert alone it would have been so, but since thou hast a companion thou canst very well meet and enjoy.[2]

What can one enjoy?

Couplet

Life is one but there are a hundred thousand charms for it, why should I then uselessly indulge my tongue in sup-

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[1] [illegible]: Here means relationship or understanding. What the author means to say is that the people of low rank are in a way connected with the high inasmuch as the former have got to go to the latter for help and subsistence.

[2] What the King meant to say to Zuhūrī was —had there been no jolly companion for him in the outside world, he would have been certainly feeling lonely but it is not so, since he has a friend in Malik Qumī and can very well enjoy without feeling much for the companionship of the king.

plicatory talk (i.e., seeking for the King's company). If I were to enter into a detailed description of the comforts of life in this foreign land, I would then be persuading people to come out of their homes, but I cannot tolerate this jealousy either (i.e., my jealousy for their participating in my happiness and thus being my rivals) Nevertheless, if I were to shut my tongue on this point, I am afraid I would be neglecting some of my friends and also those who are destitute, and I am not so cruel either

Masnawi

The Deccan is the home of mirth and happiness, the lip is thrown into a foreign land by the talk of one's native country It is not strange that the morn of the day of joyous meeting of happy lovers with their beloveds may feel ashamed before the evening of a homeless traveller (entering the King's city) Exquisite tunes are poured forth from his musical instrument, ay, the king is the comforter of the stranger In conversation he has fully extracted the marrow from the skin, he loves the use of exquisite words and meanings

May no one have to quit his lane, may no one be a stranger in his native land (by leaving the King's realm) He is the soul of the figure of *Faithfulness* and *Love*, his love is an antidote for all poisons He spreads his fame throughout the empire to conquer every master of art. Life swears by his life where is one so generous as he? His royal mandate is inviting the runners after *art* impatiently saying 'make haste'

If the objection of breathing long (i.e., prolonging my narrative) be raised it would be a fault. It is not the eulogy and panegyric of others that the objection of lengthiness be brought forward and I feel shame for prolixity The faculty of hearing has not gained such bliss as it may not be grateful to the power of speech. On the contrary, through the freshness of discourse I feel the thirst for hearing it evermore. But since

my silence, due to my incapacity to proceed further, would in the end, be a seal on the mouth of utterance, my prayer also has made preparations for going round the Ka'ba of end(i.e., I now propose to conclude my speech with a prayer)

Hemistich

Tell acceptance to open its lips to say 'Amen'

Ghazal

May Ibrahim be the *Ka'ba* of Godly men and the *Qibla* of the nine skies and the seven empires May the sky be lowering before his dignity, and the new moon humbly bowing His lofty ambition did not like the construction of the word کم (little), may ک rebel against joining م

The absence of favouritism is evident from his world-wide bounty, the good and the bad may have the happy tidings of universal favour So long as pleasure and mirth be subject to distribution, may he have in his lot the happiness of the whole world.

So long as the hopes of all are centred in one God, may the jealous have their hearts cleft into two through his fear May the Perfect Wisdom in the sown-field of his mastership be the picker of grain from the granary of his instructions. The story is ended, may the garden of his face be an object of envy for the rose-garden of Abraham

وبالا غران فربہ زیستن خود از توانا نیست۔ باید دید کہ علاج درم چیست۔ ہیچ وقت نیست کہ ازین مقولہ سخنان رسالہ رسالہ مذکور نگردد وکتاب را آنقدر ورق نیست کہ طبق عرض آن جوہر گردد وتمام عمر اگر کسے ازینہا گوید ہمیشہ در ابتدا پوید۔ اولی اختتام می نماید۔ باین دعا ختم گردید۔

بیت

تا درین مہمان سرا خوانِ خلیل آید بیاد
میزبانِ خلق ابراہیم عادلشاہ باد

—•—

بکلبۂ مراد کردہ مقام ابراہیم را مرکز دانند و بغفلت خود را از دائرہ تربیت او محروم و خارج نگردانند۔ در طواف مقام ابراہیم بسفر حجاز ارباب استطاعت را تاکید است و اینجا برعکس بے استطاعان را مبالغہ است۔ خریداری کہ بہانہ اش از قیمت کالا بیشتر است کردیدہ است۔ مایہ داری کہ جوے ہنر را بخرمن زر خریدہ است کہ شنیدہ است۔ آئینہ صیقل کن تا بخورشیدے در بغل نہند۔ برگ سبزے ہم رسان تا بگلدستگی بر سر زنند۔ ہر چیز فراخور خود بہ تشریف تحسینش مشرف الآشرے متضمن بذمت خصمان کہ ہرچند نمایان و پُر غوغا باشد نادیدہ و ناشنیدہ می گذارد۔ مصرع

مروت چوں نناز دصاحبے دید

بجنبش از وطن برآ و درغربت مباش۔ گرو راہش بر چہرہ بہ نشان و بہ آبرو بنشین۔ بر تقدیر یکہ کسے خود را از اکتساب مال و جاہ و علم و ہنر بے نیاز بیند باید کہ بکسب اخلاق حسنہ و صفات حمیدہ از سر قدم ساختہ بے خیر باد خود براہ افتد تا بداند کہ شوکت و حشمت و جاہ و تجمل در چہ درجہ است و ادب و حیا و صبر و تحمل بہ چہ مرتب۔ روزے بتقریبے در علم و بردباری سخن می رفت کہ اگر پادشا ہ برداشت نمی داشتند ایشان را حق تعالیٰ بر نمی داشت۔ مارا بر خلق زیادتی از ان دادہ اند کہ در زیادتی کشیدن از ایشان پائے کم نداریم۔ بسیارے تقصیر خردان نخریدن از کم مایگی بزرگیست

بدستعمل

آتشش خوش آئینۂ روشن است — در دہر بد و نیک عکس افگن است
اگر چون زر آہن شود سکہ دار — سر انگشت اومی نماید عیار
بروے ترش طفل شیرین ادا — کند سرکہ و شیر از ہم جدا

بنا برین مقدمہ لازم آمد کہ برائے خاطر با خاطر خود را ہم نگاہداشتہ از وقتی این نسبت در پوست منجم و رعایت پلۂ طرف کردہ خود را باز مین آسمان منجم۔ ہر چند کہ در چمن عمر ہفتاد سال نہال طبیعت شگوفہ پر افشانی کردہ چنان نیست کہ در بہار ثنائے خدائیگان ہم پختگی پیری درکار و ہم شوخی جوانی پُر بار نباشد۔

نظم

کہن نخل این باغ را نو برم — بے خشک بگذاشت شیر ترم
بانگشت حرفے نویسم بر آب — بطوفان عمان نگردد خراب
ببزمے کہ خوان بیان می نہم — سخن را سخن در دہان می نہم
درین انجمن کیست صاحب سخن — کہ عشقے نور زیدہ با شعر من
دہم جام وحدت اگر کثرت است — نہم دام کثرت اگر خلوت است
خجستہ است قالم بہ ارباب حال — کہ گیرند از گفتہ ام حسب حال
ز نظمم چنان منشیان کامگار — کہ بر نثر شان نثرہ کردو نثار
غزالان رم کردہ را کرد رام — خوشا در پختہ و سیم خام
زمرمر لب مطربان بہرہ مند — سر آیند از من بیا نگم بلند
مناجاتیان ذکر خوان من اند — خراباتیان خود از آن من اند

ایت دیباچہ مکتوبیست از حضوری بپاکستان ربع مسکون کہ از جہرہ

رباعیات

خوشگوی نشد از قلمش بر گل گفت
در کش چو گهرهای معانی که نه سفت
گر خار نوشت در دل خصم خلید
در گل بنوشت بر رخ دوست شگفت

آنها که بجستن جواہر چستند   از عقد گہر گذشته خطش جستند
خطها شده آب در خراسان از شرم   ورنه به برق عراقیان می شستند

چهارم - مولانا فرخ حسین که ما فوق تصویرش متصور نیست نقاشان بالا دست بزیر دستیش می نازند و منت بر جان نهاده طرح طراحیش می کشند - سبز خطان را مشاہدهٔ سیاه قلمش چو رنگ آمیز سیما فرموده - طراوت تصویرش عکس خوبان خوی کرده در آب گرد و رشک نشانده - تا قمری نگارد و بوے مشک می شنوند و لاله گل نگارد رنگ می درو ند - نظم

بتصویر خوبان خاطر فریب   زد لها فرو شسته نقش شکیب
خطش بے ره و رفتار زلفان نگار   کر گردید چشمان به چین نگار
گر افشاند مرغان بیل بال ما   ترشح ربا خاطران کرد هر

نستعلیق حرف زنند۔ در علم خط چنانست که عمداً نه سهواً العلم نصف الخط میتوان گفت۔ فراقِ نوخطان را بمشغولیِ نظارۂ خطش کنند می توان گرید الحق این خط را بآن خط چہ نسبت کہ کہنگی این را زینت است وآن را آفت۔ ہر کہ ابجد خوانِ قاعدش نشد سوادِ جریدۂ ترکیبش روشن نگشت بہ نمِ فوارۂ خامہ چہ بنفشہ زار ہا رسانیدہ واز شیرینیِ رقم بحروف چہ شکر خندہا چشانیدہ۔ نگاہ تماشائی آنچنان بر خطش نہ چسپیدہ کہ در برگشتن دیدہا در سرمہ نہ خوابانیدہ۔ کتابتے بصورت چنان خفی کہ بر ہر صفحہ کتابی پیمودہ و در معنی چنان جلی کہ در کتابتگی آسمان نمودہ۔ از فرخندگیِ صفاتش فالِ ہمہ بینندگان دلخواہ و بزبان درازیِ قلمش زبانِ جملہ حرفگیران کوتاہ۔ در پیرویِ خط از ہمہ پیشینیان پیش۔ شاعران ہمہ آشنائے دادِ خویش۔ نکتہ اش خاطر نشین است و نقطہ اش مردمک نشان۔

فرد

خامہ ی ترسم زدستش سرکشد ناگہان خطے بخلہا درکشد

نظم

رباینده خطش چہ خط نگار
در آرایشِ صفحۂ روزگار
بسر خط نویسی علم زان نمط
کہ رخسارِ خوبان کند مشقِ خط

لآلی معنیش از بحرِ لاہوت است و جواہرِ الفاظش از کانِ ناسوت کنگرۂ عرش فرسودۂ پرواز او و رسائی از دست یاران اندازد۔ توانگری زلّہ بندِ درویشی۔ مرہمے در راحت افتادۂ سینہ ریشی۔ یافتہ کہ مطلب چیست و دانستہ کہ مخاطب کیست۔ مثنوی

زہے شورِ عرفان طرازِ قمی	کہ از قطرگی بود در قلزمی
ملک نام و ملکِ سخن ملک اوست	سکونِ دل از جنبشِ کلکِ اوست
سخن گر لآلی ست از درجِ اوست	وگر آفتاب است از برجِ اوست
بہ تہ جرعگی خم لبالب زند	صبوحی بجام دلِ شب زند
چو مینا نہد آسمان ساغر است	چو خلوت گزیند زبان بر در است
زلب خندہ ننہاد بر روے ہم	رسانید در گریہا نم بہ نم
چنان بُرد ز آئینۂ دیدہ زنگ	کہ ہم رنگ بود دیدہ و ہم طبع رنگ
کم افتد چنین نکتہ پرداز کم	کہ ناز ند از و لفظ و معنی بہم
نمایان تری نیست رو در سخن	کہ گم گشتہ صد بار در ہر سخن
بہ انگوزہ یاقوت این کان بود	کہ در غیرِ وقتش تواند نمود
ز مغزِ دل و جان سخن بر کشد	بمغزِ دل و جان سخن در کشد
بلے حرف زانجا کہ بالا رود	چو آید فرو تا بہ آنجا رود

سوم۔ حضرت شاہ خلیل اللہ کہ نزاکت خاطر ہاے نسترین خوبان بہ اجارۂ قلم بہ بیع رقم اوست۔ نازک خیالانی کہ حسن سخن را نمکے می دانند درین حسرت اند کہ بزبان قلمش

دگر سرآمد اهل فراستش خوانند | بجاست خدمت شعلهٔ ضمیران کردست
عیار گیری شاهش فزوده قیمت و قدر | بکورهٔ غم و شادیش امتحان کردست
سخنوران همه قائل بحسن تقریرش | از آنچه نطق فرو مانده آن بیان کردست
گل ریاض ریاضی کسے نه چید چو او | نهان انجم و افلاک را عیان کردست
نمی توانمش از مردمان نهان کردن | ز مردمی بمن آشنا کرمی توان کردست
بر آفتاب به تیر نگاه دوخته است | براست بینی اگر ذره نشان کردست
قلم که نقب زن گنج خانهٔ معنیست | هر آنچه کرده ز تحریک آن بنان کردست
اند و به نزد اکابر سند چه قول و چه فعل | بنقل او که چنین گفته و چنان کردست

دوم - خدام ملک الکلام مصرع

که هم خود تواند که گوید که کیست

انام سخن کوس صاحبقرانی بنامش صدا داده و از طلوع سهیل کلامش رنگ بدر ادیم زبانها افتاده - نامهٔ زرفشان عبارتش بفرد فیست که از سوادش بیاض سحر می سازند - و خامهٔ دلیر رقمش از نیستانیست که شیران دران جگر می بازند داد قافیه ها بجیکه تا غایت بران ظلم کرده اند در ایوان عدل بنیان خود داده و با طبع روانی که نگاه و نفس سوخته غاشیه داری اوست - هر جا در سخن استاد - سقط فروشان را چه سرمایه و کدام یارا که دکان عیب بر کالاے او کشایند مطلعش مثنی ست و حقیقتش یمنی - غزل سرائی که هم عشق را معشوق دارد و هم حسن را ممنون - قصیده گوئی که اگر پادشاهان خواهند که نام خود به تخت زبانها نشانند باید که تحت و بالا زر و گوهر برا و افشانند -

در می‌یابد کہ این آرائے چہ لفظ است و در بنائے کدام معنی بکار خواهد رفت۔
از حاضر جوابیش تیز بیانان ہمہ بکند بیانی معترف و از خردہ گیریش
بزرگ خردان ہمہ بنادانیِ خویش قائل۔ در ہنگام سوال بیجوابی گاہی
اگر اندک تامل می‌نماید سبب این است کہ از ہجومِ ورودِ سخن نمیداند کہ اول
بکدام جواب لب بکشاید۔ ریاضت کشانِ علم ریاضی را تقریرش در تنعم انداختہ۔
از تقویم چہرہ ہا بہ احکامِ رفتہ و آیندہ و حال پرداختہ۔ بہ خوانِ نطقش حلاوتِ
تلخکِ شکر نیز او کامِ حنظل است۔ بمیزانِ تخمینش مناصفۂ کرۂ ارض ما تفاوتِ
سہو و خردل۔ بہ استقامتِ طبعش نظرِ محورِ نگاہان گونیاست و با نفاستِ خُلقش
تشریفِ زربفت قماشان بوریا۔ رخشِ فہم تیزش را رگِ تازیانہ تیز عنانی ست
و نخلِ ہمتش را برگہا کفِ زر افشانی۔ نزدیکیِ تدبیرش بصواب نزدیکیِ نور
بہ آفتاب۔ و دوریِ رایش از خطا دوریِ مغرب بخطا۔ در صلحنامہ اش حروف
و کلمات در بغلگیری و تنگ آغوشی ہم پیرہن و در رزم نامہ اش ہر سطرے
سپاہیِ صف شکن۔ کمندِ خیالش را نخ نارسائی نیست و ویکِ فکرش را
جوشِ خامی نے۔ راستیِ قلمش بشایہ کہ اگر کسے در واسطہ سخنش می‌گفت دیگر
قلم قط محرف نمی‌پذیرفت۔ درستِ فہمیش بمرتبہ کہ اگر حضرت مولوی معنوی
می‌بود این بیت

مردم اندر حسرتِ فہمِ درست اینکہ می‌گویم بقدرِ فہمِ تست

نمی‌فرمود۔ از خاک و بادش ہرگز غبارے بر خاطرِ دلشکستہ [illegible]
و آتش از تا ماں۔ بے نیازش آنچنان کامیاب گردانیدہ کہ احتیاجش

مشرف ساخته اند بلکه هیچ‌یکی را بصد موافقت مقابلهٔ دیگرے برخود تقدیم فرموده اند

ع بنازم به انصاف صافی دلان

اوّل۔ نواب مستطاب معلی جناب شاه نواز خان که از بس لوازم
شاهی باین خطاب والا سرفراز است و از غایت ملک خواهی و کار آگاهی
بمنصب عمدة الملکی ممتاز۔ جهت حراست بلاد و رفاهیت عباد برگزیده
برهمگنان۔ ظاهر است که حشمت و بزرگیش بحسب بخت و اتفاق نیست بلکه
بمعنی استعداد و استحقاق است۔ مثنوی

لطف بالادست شاهش خوش نواخت — صدر مجلس صاحب خود را شناخت
دین و دولت در پناه و هم ازو — برج حصن ملکت محکم ازو
مثل او یک تن ندارد روزگار — رو بگرد هفت کشور دل برآر
در جهان هر دست او دستور نیست — هر چه بے دستور او دستور نیست
در بزرگی چرخ را اسباب کو — باشد ار اسبابش این آداب کو
نامهٔ تهدید چون سازد رقم — در کفش تیغ دو دم گردد رقم

بسبق خدمت از همه پیش است و بوزن عقیدت از همه بیش۔ سر تفاخر تا آسمان
رسانیده و میرسدش۔ و با برتران تفوق نه بیده و می زیبدش۔ با وجود فطرت
جبلی که از طفولیت در هر علم بالغیت علم بود در کسب فضائل و تحصیل کمالات
سعی و اهتمام را مجال عرق پاک کردن نداده۔ چنان بغور است نزدیک که
از دور بحرکت قلم جلد نویسان شکسته رقم درست یافتن مضمون را کار سهل
سهل و امری بغایت آسان میداند۔ هنوز نفس در سینه جاسے سخن نهاده

بہرسوز دہقانی صبحدم   خیابان خیابان ہوائے ارم
اگر شام در چاشت از خرمی   ہوا صبحی و سبزہا شبنمی
سراپائے طوطی بمنقار ریش   کہ می خواہد از سبزہ پرہائے خویش

بفرمانِ قضا جریانِ تخم فصاحت و بلاغت از عربستان و ترکستان و دانۂ فضل و ہنر از عراق و خراسان آوردہ درین خاکِ پاک کاشتاند۔ و از لطافتِ زمین و جوہرِ آب و ہوا حاصل دلخواہ برداشتہ۔ یونان اگر در آب نمی بود اکنون از تاب رشک در آتش می بود۔ رباعی

از بخت درین شہر تسلّی می باش   دریائے صور را دُرِ معنی می باش
در ہر ہنر از تربیتِ آب و ہوا   بے زحمتِ مشق در ترقی می باش

زہے دارائے کامل رائے ملک آرائے کہ بنائے این شہرِ دکن را رشک عراق و خراسان گردانیدہ۔ رسم است کہ مدح طرازان گاہ بسخنِ تیغ تیغ سخن بر فسان زبان می کشند و گاہ بحرفِ باز بازِ لفظ را در صیدگاہ معنی پرواز می دہند و گاہ بصفتِ جولانِ اسپ اسپ طبیعت را از حروفِ بیرون می آرند۔ بجائے رسیدہ کہ چرا از سخن مقربانِ درگاہ قرب و منزلتِ خود را نیفزائیم و بمدح پیشوا استادگانِ پائے تخت و بہ دولتِ علمی بر روے بخت نکشائیم۔ عزیزانِ یگانہ انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ تذکرۃ الاعزا علیحدہ نوشتہ می شود۔ حالا بحرف و حکایت بعضے از پروردگاران دولتِ علمی و مجلسیانِ حضرت اعلیٰ کلام و زبان را مسادوت مدد می کنم۔ بہ اسامیِ سامیِ حضرات کہ صنوف مجلس را عرضِ دہندہ نسبتہائے نشست خود و منتخانہ را لازم نیست۔ بہرحال کہ خود خوش کردہ اند

نظم

شود نوک شعلب چو زرین آب تر | از خجلت شود آب آب گهر
ز دلهاے غمگین چنان زنگ شو | که زنگار گون گشته لبهاے جو
نیارد کشیدن برون آفتاب | از و عکس خود را بچندین طناب

سیر باغ و بوستان نصیب همه یاران و دوستان

زمینِ سبزه زارش از تراوش شبنم برنگی که باید - از نوازش خاک نور سپهر فیروزهٔ کهنه به نیشاپور برند - و در سایهٔ نسرین و ارغوان توده توده بوے و پشته پشته رنگ بهم ریخته - و هواداران سرو غوغائیان گل پر در پر بافته و آواز برآواز انداخته - نفسها از حکایت جام نرگس سرمست و نظرها از مشاهدهٔ گونهٔ لاله رنگ بست - از تنومندی اشجار خزان در لطمه خواری - و از برومندی شاخسار بهار در برخورداری - مثنوی

درختان نادیده روے خزان | همه چو الهاے پیران جوان
ز ثقل ثمر بید آن سرزمین | پئے سجدهٔ شکر سر بر زمین
گل چنپه گیرد نهال از شمال | چو پروانه بر شمع افشاند بال
بشاخ انبه برگ غلطان بناز | چو طوطی پرسے در قفس کرده باز
تماشی چنان دلکش و دلربا | که زو سنگ بر سینه کوبد هوا
برو تازگی آنچنان بست آب | که نغزید در سایه اش آفتاب
همه رفته چیستانا بروے برگ | نم افشان بر پشتها بر روسه

سود کرتهار مای دار این خاک پاک را کالا ساخته با ایران و توران بر نگاه در گفتگو
فتنه و آشوب کم کرده موسیت دلهای خراب و تعمیر سینه های ویران کند-
اگر به سرمگی در دیده کشند آنچه تا حشر از زمین خواهد است به بینند- فی المثل اگر هم
خریطهٔ نوشدارو بودی به لیش بضرورت آبرو بودی - نظم

زهی خاک پاک سعادت فزای — که غلطد بران زاغ گردد همای
غبارش که بر سر بریزد جلا — مقدم نشین است بر توتیا
بگردش صبا گشته نکهت پذیر — تو گوئی نفس داده سر در عبیر
نسیم از دو آنچنان تازه رو — که رو دارد آب حیات از وضو

لطافت هوایش در ان درجه که اگر به هوای خلدش ترجیح دهم رضوان از بجای
خشم بی تامل تصدیق کند- عاشقان که باینجا رسند سر از هوای یار خالی کرده
ازین هوا پر کنند و تا هوای اینجا نشنوند هوای کار شان خوب نگردد- همه جا
هوا پرستی عیب است و اینجا هنر- نظم

هوای که ز و آب حیوان چکد — افشارند یک مشت صد جان چکد
نفس روح پرور بتعریف او — لطافت مشرف به تشریف او
از و هم سوی دم صبا و شمال — زپرورد گانش یکی اعتدال

آبش چون می از چهره دل گرد غم میشوید- به نمش از ته زمین جمله سبزه خوی
صحت میروید- ماهی سر چشمه اش اگر در آب بطافته چون بر خود جنبد از
بجرها بجا است و سیما هر گاه به ملاح تشکل خود پرداخته از عکس آفتاب در او
ران را ساخته آب خضر از رشک همیم خود را به او شستهد که تر بس گرانی سبک نگردد-

گرآید حدیثِ وطن درمیان　　　نه در دِ غریبی بنالد زبان

در هر دکان راستهٔ بازارش که بتارِ شعاعِ آفتاب عنابی گردیده کارِ هزار سود وسودا راست آمده - وقاعدهٔ راستی ودرستی بایں مرتبه که کج بیان از رستهٔ راستی بیرون نتوانند رفت - چنانچه آسمان از کهکشان میان در بندگی خاکساران محکم کرده زمین نیز بنمط رسائی کمر بسته - مثنوی

زبازارِ گلزارِ باغ دکن　　　پری خواست بستانِ ملک این چمن

بطولِ مقالاتِ شیدائیان　　　بعرضِ خیالاتِ سودائیان

زبس زیور و زیبِ رشکِ سپهر　　　بروجِ دکاکین پُر از ماه و مهر

سیه چشم سبزانِ رنگین نگاه　　　بشورِ نمک از شکر باج خواه

بدل از رو دیده پیغام ده　　　پُر از بوسه بهاے دشنام ده

بسوداے ایشان چو کوشیدگان　　　به بیعانگی رفت دل در میان

سرِ عقل را داغ دیوانگیست　　　بلے حسنِ بازاریان غائیست

ز اعجازِ چشمانِ جادو مپرس　　　ز عابد فریبانِ هندو مپرس

نهادند در کفرِ صبر و شکیب　　　هذر زان کمرهاے زنار زیب

رهِ مایه دارانِ ایمان زنند　　　بغمزه نقدِ دل و جان زنند

سرِ تقوی هر گرگری کرد ورد　　　هم از مهرِ خوبان صندل آلود کرد

هذا الفقر زدائی و وحشت زدائی واُنس گزینی و دلنشینی چه توان گفت -

شعر

گر خاکِ آدم نه ز ہمیں خاک بود　　　کرکرد ز ہ شش ملک ہمہ

بر ایوان کند چون سلام آفتاب　　کشد ابروی طاق بالا جواب
به عرشش زمین دامنے بر فشاند　　ز کرسیش دعوی بکرسی نشاند

اعالی و ادانی نیز بتقلید هم در ارتفاع و استحکام عمارات رفعت را سرفرازی و متانت را سنگینی دیگر داده اند و در بالا بردنِ کاخ و ایوان و قصر و منظر بینا ازبر افراختنِ مصالح آنقدر به تنافتاده که پشتِ گاوِ زمین از سنگینی و گرانی پست و بلند گردیده از کثرت بنا و وسعتِ فضا در هر خانه محله و در هر محله شهرے۔ در هیچ کوچه پا نه نهند که از موجهٔ رطوبت رودِ سرود ترانه سرایان در بحرِ اصول بغل پشنا نه نهند۔ هر چیز بمقتضاے طبیعتِ خود کامران و کامیاب است۔ حسن در آن شوخی و خود نمائی۔ عشق در زمینِ بیباکی و رسوائی۔ شوق راهگیر یبان دری پنجه در کار۔ صبر را به رفوکاری عقده بر تار۔ صومعه ها را رونقِ میکده ها۔ شیخان در مریدیِ رندان۔ دکانِ سود در بازارِ تجار به نشو و نما۔ سپر کیلِ زیرِ لشکریان صرفِ مراعاتِ احوالِ رعایا۔ مثنوی

ندارد غم از اهلِ آن شهر بهر　　طلسمی ست در دفعِ غمهاے دهر
معوذست از ترکتازِ گزند　　که دارد در غاهیتش کوچه بند
سر کوے غنیاگران زهره خیز　　نسیم در و بامِ شان نغمه بیز
ورع بسته تار آوازِ شان　　نهان زهد در گوش به سازِ شان
بهر گام سر بر فلک غرفهٔ　　ز هر غرفه در جلوه گل طرفهٔ
نه بینی که مو ها کرد در پا کشند　　دلِ اهلِ نظاره بالا کشند
گرفته پئے کارِ خود بوالهوس　　سر کوچهٔ عاشقی ها عسس

شهریست که از گرم خون میپوید   اندیشه ازگردش فسون میروید

پاسے بگشا سیر صحرا د ببین   کز شبنم حسن عشق چون میروید

سخن آرزو دارد که بجهت تعمیر کهنه کاخ خود بحرف شهر نورس پیوند کلام وزبان خامه کند و از بیم دراز نفسی در مصالح بنای کار آوردن کوتاهی می کند۔ اگر شهرداری گل تعریف در آب نگیرم محذور داری را خود مپرس است۔ شرط اجمال گفتن به نگفتن غالب آمده گوش شنیدن شکوهٔ تفصیل تا شنیده نکن۔

رباعی

این شهر که آرایش هفت اقلیم است   عشرتگه شهریار جم دیهیم است

مصریست که بر مصر تفوق دارد   لیکن کرم بخشش ابراهیم است

حبذا شهری که هر روز آفتاب جهانتاب محاذات دولتخانهٔ پادشاه بعد ایستد بغفران خویش می داند و در گرد روی گلکاری در و دیوارش که آوازهٔ صبح فرو نشاند تا شام به رومال زرتار می افشاند۔ عالمے را امید داری که جهان همه جان تو در نفته۔ زمین را گر سجدهٔ شکر بر جبین که مرادش خوبتر از آنچه در دل بود بر آمده۔ عرض و طولش باری چنان قرار نداده که آسمان بے جسته فراخی نگردش تواند گردید۔ اگر در خور حشمت خود می فرمود فلک گرهٔ او را حرص گل یک خشخش می بود۔ نظم

شد سعادت چو دست بدامان کوه   بر آورده سر از گریبان کوه

زمین آسمان منظر از منظرش   ده و نه بر یک بازاده ورش

دگر و حرف حاصل اجناس دو و مزرع انہار کام و زبان بطلب سر
پیشگان خصوصاً کنہنیان یعنی اہل اصول و نغمہ در اطراف و اکناف جہان
می گردند ہر کرا در فنِ خود مہارتی و در علمِ خود شہرتی بودہ سرود گویان و
رقص کنان براہ افتادند - و در نورس پور کہ مکانِ تازہ جہت مسکن و مقام
مقام شناسان ساختہ و پرداختہ اند چندان فراہم آمدہ اند کہ تفرقۂ روزگار
عجب کہ بر کثرتِ ایشان جمعِ پریشانی تواند بست - وازین بار بدفرشا داق
نکیسا تبار کہ گوش بحلقۂ شاگردی وجبہ بسجدۂ اوستادی رسانیدہ اند
وبہ آواز رشتہ بپاے بلبل نی بندند و بہ رخسار بر شگفتگی گل می خندند -
صاحب کمال و صاحب جمال انتخابی ہمیشہ بہ سیم کشک بردرِ کریاسِ
گردون اساس پاسِ وقت می دارند - و از ہاے و ہوے گویندگان
صدائے در گنبد افلاک نہ پیچیدہ کہ اگر خاموش شوند شنوندگان از
استماع نغمہ محروم گردند و از جوش و خروشِ سازندگان درختان رقص
بر نداشتہ کہ اگر بہ آواز پاے نشینند برگہا از دستک زدن باز مانند -

رباعیات

از زمزمہ پر برگ و نوا گشتہ جہان
از رنج کہ صوت و صدا گشتہ جہان
بیگانۂ دل شدند غمہاے کسی
تا نغمۂ نورس آشنا گشتہ جہان

ہر گوشہ بساط عشرت افراختہ اند
در تن بہ نغم ترانہ جان کاشتہ اند
طفلی کہ بمجلس بجہان آمدہ است
کاہش بشراب نغمہ برداشتہ اند

نوازش طرفہ درگوشش حاضران کشیدہ - مثنوی

بمضرابش سترت گشتہ تا ساز ... نتالد ہیچ گوش از بخت ناساز
چو لب مست ترنم گوش ہر کس ... شراب کہنہ گوئی نقش نورس
نفس را جان بہ تن از نغمۂ او ... پنبۂ ہر زخم مرہم زخمۂ او
نفس در نقش ہایش تا نگردید ... ز حرف سادہ رویان وا نگردید

رباعیات

نقشے عجبے شاہ برانگیختہ است ... صد زمزمہ در ہر نفس آویختہ است
کف غنچہ کنی پر از گل نغمہ شود ... از بس بہوا نغمہ در آویختہ است

گاہے کہ بجلوہ نغمۂ شاہ رود ... در مغز دل غافل و آگاہ رود
از کام و زبان مطربان تا در گوش ... بر فرق شنیدن ہمہ جا راہ رود

شادابی جان ز نغمۂ تازۂ اوست ... مالیدن گوش زہرہ اندازۂ اوست
زنسان کہ صبا تخت سلیمان برد ... بر دوش نفس سریر آوازۂ اوست

ہم شور ترانۂ او شکر گوش ... ہم پائی گفتہ او گوہر گوش
نو نغمہ علم گشتہ بہ عالمگیری ... ہم ملک زبان گرفتہ ہم کشور گوش

چون نامہ این خجستہ نے چرب زبان نقود جہان بہر دکان ہا و دشم

مجز بوعلی و داستان قدرت خود به ترانه بعالمیان می شنوانند - اگر به نغمه پردازی
زبان به موی اعجاز کشایند به تصدیقش عوض زبانها گوشها به آواز درآیند
میفرمایند دستی که حرکتش با اصول برنیامیخته شاخیست بار ریخته و سینه که
نفسش به نغمه درنیاویخته سازیست تار گسیخته - بلبل که یکی بوده بیزم هزار
گردیده زیاده اش از سیمرغ می شمارند - و قمری را بهمان ساده خوانیش
بر نقش پر طاؤس ترجیح میدهند - جمله متفق اند که فلک به دورے از ادوار
مثل خواجه عبدالقادر نیاورده - از تصنیفاتش معلوم نموده اند که از و عاجز
تری نبوده و با اینهمه پرکاری هیچ نقش این کار نداشته - به الفت استادی
سر بنه حرکت اعضا پیر و جوان را بضبط شحنهٔ اصول واگذاشته و به شفقت
شاگرد پروری در مکتب مهد به گریه و خندهٔ اطفال معلم آهنگ گماشته -
ناخن زنی زخمه در عقده کشائی زبانهای گنگ چرب - و نرمی اصول در
روغن مالی دستهای شل غرب - در رقص اگر شاخ دست بیراهی اندازد
صبا حاجب طلب است و اگر در اصول برگ کف بیجائی بر زند شمال معاتب -
شورانگیزی زمزمهٔ زبان ماتم زدگان را از نوحه برآورده و دو گشائی ترانهٔ
بهای دربسته را بتصرف خود درآورده - تا استنباط نغمات از حرکات
گردون کرده اند به گردون حنجره غلطکی به این روانی نساخته و بر صفحهٔ سادهٔ
آواز نقشی باین پرکاری نپرداخته - از تکرار فقرات و مبالغات در نغمات
ذوق و شوق بطریق تضعیف بیوت شطرنج در تزاید و ترجیعات الحق
در معاملهٔ نغمه و ساز تحسینی عجبی به گوش زندگان رفته و در روزگار حلقهٔ

ریحان کاکلان در تماشا غاریدن - از تبسم دندانهٔ سیین یاسمن را دندان بجگر برو لب پنهان و از انشادِ حلقه ہا سر چاہِ ذقن بسبزۂ خطِ عکس پوش و صفحہاے مژگان با وجود بہم زدنِ عالم زیر و زبر گشتهٔ زیر و زبر او - و خالِ خود بہ نقطهٔ داغے نسوخته که مرہم کافور در اندا ختن سیاہیش سفید تواند گردید -

رباعی

خطش نگذشت در جبینها چینے ہر نقطهٔ آن نافهٔ مشک آگینے
برسم بر نقش زنار و پود نگه است می گشت و گرنه خط پرستی دینے

قطعه

حبذا فیض تعلق معجز کلکش نگر
گر رود صد سال روپیش نظر باشد همان
تازگیهاے رقم مین کز حروفِ چشمه دار
چشمها در مرغزارِ صفحه ها بینی روان
گر خطش را با خجالت یاقوت سنجیدم بسهو
یک بدخشان لعلِ معنی دادم اینک ترجمان
بر دہانِ حرفگیران قفلِ لب مانده که ہست
دل نشین ہر قطره اش از نقطهٔ تا طرز عیان
چون دوات از مهرِ کلکش پُر ز نبا شد چنین
کاین چنین چشمے نیا خشد هیچگه در دو جهان

با وجود این همه فضل و کمال جاه را فزایا و موسیقی را اصل مید اند [illegible]

سعی اینقدر می نمود هر آئینه درجه بجد تر خواهند بود - از زبان سحر بیان شنیده شد
که در دقت مشق ساز بسیار بود که هنگام نشستن آفتاب نشسته زمانی برغاستیم
که تار شعاعی خورشید بر تار طنبور تابیده - مصرع

بهر کارش قیاس سعی زین گیر

در فن تصویر از مصوران آنقدر ممتاز است که خود از خوبان - گاهیکه
آئینه در برابر نهاده بتشبیه کشی خویش پردازد لعل شقائق و سفید آب نسرین
بهم بر آمیخته رنگ چهره سازد - اهل معنی اگر بفتوای انصاف صورت پرست
شوند عجبی نیست - اگر هیکل پیل بر پشه کشد و پیکر فیل در دیده مور نگارد
بزور قلمش یکی بر گوی زمین خرطوم چوگان سازد و دیگری به انداز کوهان
گاو آسمان پنجه بازد - صفت مانی و بهزاد که با دراک زمانش خجالت و
انفعال نکشیدند و گرنه چه روها می ساختند - یاقوت و صیرفی نیز اگر می بودند
چون واو سجده پیش وی چون نشین عرق بر جبین می نمودند - قلمهای یک قلم خط
بسر خود داده اند که اگر تیغ محرف بر تارک خورند یا در راه انحراف نهاده
سر بر خط دیگران نه نهند - طاؤس قلمش بر فرق لفظ و معنی چتر افراخته و
به نشان پاسداز دوائر و نقط دام و دانه از بهانه نگاه ساخته جمعی که از شکوه
سر نوشت نیاسایند سطرش بر جبین چسپانند تا در سجده شکر زمین فرسا شوند
مدادش از دوده چراغ خورشید ست و قلم پاک کنش از مرغوله طره
ناهید - غنچه خطان را در مشاهده سنبل زار خطش طرفه کاری افتاده -
ز موزونی جلوه الف قد شمشاد قامتان در خمیدن ست و از دنبالهٔ سیم

در گستردن بساط شطرنج انبساطی تمام است۔ و در رساله‌ای که اهل این کار
گرفته‌اند بهزار جد و جهد بیش از ده دوازده بازی ندیده‌اند۔ و در رسالهٔ دیگر
منصوبه‌هاست که سی بازی و چهل بازی از روے هم گزیده شده است اگر
حافظهٔ خلق را تاب بر داشت بودی و از سنگینی شمار دوش از تحمل بارش [illegible]
بجاے دقائق عشرات که نقد خزائن مات و الوف درین معامله بکار رفتی
وازین تصرف که بعد از تمام شدن منصوبه و الزام حریف آلات باقی مانده
شکل مدور و مربع و مثمن یا مسدس باشد عقل اوستادان این فن مات است
رهے فکر و خیال۔ مثنوی

فیلبند خیال شاه نگر	کرد ملک ایمن از عراے خطر
فرز را ز استقامتش خرداد	رنده کردست کجروی ز نهاد
در بردن برخ رخش را باز	بیذقش اسپ گیر و فیل انداز
زو شگفتن ز خصم پژمردن	باختن از حریف زو بردن
چون پیاده رخش بازی انگیزد	مفت برد ار بقائی ریزد
نیست جم ورنه خجلتے می برد	شاه برخ کو که شاه رخ می خورد

رباعی

چه فکری شاه فکر را کام دهد	رخ طرح بشطرنجی ایام دهد
منصوبه بیع صلح پیدست چنین	کو دل به دارام و دلارام دهد

اگر شمهٔ از فضائل اکتسابش نیز گفته شود بے فائده نخواهد بود طالبان
کسب کمال چون دانند که با وجود شغل جهانداری و ناز و نعم پادشاهی

همه بر یک وزن ادا می‌دانند خصوصاً در رباعی و این موزونیت علیحده است حروف و کلمات و سلاست چنان مخرج آشنا و نفس رباعی باید که دیر خواندن گشت بزود و خواندن طلاقت مبدل گردد و در انشست و برخاست و تقدیم و تاخیر الفاظ و انشود. و کشادن و بستن آنچنان که چون قافیه و بحر معنی بخاطر خامان برسد و لفظهای پخته برهم نشینند و بکارهای مردم می آمده باشد به بخواندن و چه بنوشتن. و در مناسب خوانی ندیمان را پیرایه باشد و در علم نویسی دبیران را سرمایه. و ملاحظهٔ این هم می‌نمایند که مدات و دوائر در یک هم طرز امانه و نقاشانه واقع شود که خوشنویسان دیخواست بر زانوی قطعه نویسی نشسته برای شهر خوش ترکیب گردد کتابها نگر وند. و رعایت کار موسیقان نیز می‌فرمایند که در کار عمل نفس و صوت تقسیم کلمات و نشست فقرات میزان آهنگ و اصول بموافق ضرب و نطق افتد و با وجود این همه تکلف بی‌تکلف و آمدن باشد نه پرداختن و ساختن. ارباب فکر و خیال میدانند که این کشاکش کسی نیست و نخواهد بود. مصرع

فطرت شه ورای فطرتهاست

و اگر کسی را درین افکار انکاری باشد بمطالعهٔ رساله که در منصوبهٔ شطرنج رقم زدهٔ کلک اقدس گردیده حقیقت حال معلوم کند. چون آیین کشورکشایان در بزم مشق رزم کردن و حریفان را به پیش بینی پس نشاندن و دغابازان را و دواسپه چپاسی قبل مات دوانیدن و در علاج فرزین شدوان رخ به راستی نشاندن و از تدبیر عرای عرصه جویان عاری نمودن طبع آزمایان را

اکنوں مژدہ مردے راکہ از شورِیش سخن کند۔ متاعِ سخن را اگرچہ مشتریان مایہ دار ہستند امافکرہاے خوانگیش ازاں قیمتی تر است کہ در جیبِ غرور خود دان بیمانہ اش باشد۔ در شنیدنِ اشعار دُر نثارش زبانہا ہمہ گوش و در خواندنِ ابیاتِ آبدارش گوشہا جملہ زبان۔ شعری را بمناسبت شعر او وجی رو نداوہ کہ فلک بہزار دورہ یک ظلیعش برایش تواند آورد۔ تنگی متنِ دقیقش باوجود وسعت شرح بحاشیہ کشادگی گفتنش محتاج۔ اگر از بزم می نویسد صفحہ از نقطہ زہرہ خیز است و اگر از رزم می گوید مریخ از بیم زہرہ ریز۔ روشنی تقریر و نکات بمثابہ کہ تاریک فہمان را جز فہمیدن علاجے نیست میفرماشد کہ اگر نقطے محتاج بہ تکرار شود قابلِ زود فہم بنارسائی خود وارسد اگرچہ سامع دیر رس باشد۔ و ہمچنیں اگر پیش از تمام شدنِ سخن سر رشتۂ فہمیدن بدست نیاید سامع بفکرِ تا تمامی خود افتد اگرچہ قابلِ ژولیدہ بیان باشد۔ و آنچہ در شعر و شاعری مرعی می دارند اندازۂ ہیچکس نیست و تا بودہ و نخواہد بود۔ میفرمایند کہ غزل از بیت پرکن خالی باشد و معنی مطلع بلندی را مقطع گردد تا آنکہ مافوقِ آن متصور نباشد و تا آخر غزل ہر بیت از بیتِ دیگر برجستہ تر و نمایاں تر باشد چنانچہ اگر برگرد صدر آنطرف باشد و دراں ہمیں سخن عشق و عاشقی شروع شود و مواعظ و نصائح در دیگر اقسام شعر درج گردد۔ و در ہرچہ کہ بنیاد کنند اگر فراق باشد و اگر وصال در ہماں تمام کنند۔ و یک بیت سوختنی و یک بیت واسوختنی نباشد۔ و اگر بلفظ مقفٰی باشد معنی مردوف برگوش خورد و قافیہ

بازگذاشته و حیرت تفرج خرامش کبک را از خرام بازداشته - باکشادگی رویش از شگفتگی صبح تنگ پیشانی چه کشاید و پیش بالاے بلندش جلوهٔ سرو کوتاه قد چه نماید - هیچ مرغے نپرد که از پر خود نامه بر امش نه برد - آبے که عکسش دران افتد مغان را مهر آتش بران افتد - تماشاے مهر رخسارش موسم بهار دیدن و ستارع گفتارش فصل نیسان شنیدن - ابروانِ خجسته کلیدِ درهاے بسته - نگاه سعادت افزاے همایون تر از سایهٔ هماے شیرینی تبسم نمک خوان تکلم - مثنوی

مگو از قدو سرشت دیگراست این	مپرس از رخ بهشت دیگر است این
از و صبح این صفا دریوزه کرد است	بجز این کار را هر روزه کرد است
بهاے دیدن ایزد آفرینش	دگر خود را ندید آنکس که دیدش
همیشه را بکف از ابرو کلیدے	کشاده هر درے نوروز و عیدے
فتد در بلغ زان بالاے آزاد	بپایش سایه از بالاے شمشاد
لبش در شیر شکر کرده در صهد	ز حرفش گوش رشک طبلهٔ شهد
ز هر یش نشترین در تازه کاری	ز رنگش ار غوان در غازه کاری
بیاض گردنش صبح شب دے	سواد خط بهار گلشن روے
[illegible] تا بچمن نشتین بکویش	کمین گرد نگه نوکن به هر یش

سحاب از بحر جودش گر برد نم — بجای سبزه روید عشرت جم

پی داغی سپهر گنجی کشاید — چو سایل دید با خود بر نیاید

بکین خواهی مدارش بر تعلل — تحمل چند صد چندان تحمل

بلطفش می سپارد قهر خود را — که بر دشمن نریزد زهر خود را

اگر گاهیش باید عقده بست — نباشد بر کشادش هیچ را دست

فلک گر صد گره بر هم نهادست — بایمای سرانگشتی کشادست

نپوید گر کسی راه رضایش — براهش اژدها گردد عصایش

ارباب سیرت از وصف سیرتش سرمایهٔ اربابیت برده اند
اهل صورت نیز بحرف صورتش پیرایهٔ اهلیت می خواهند - اینجا
معذرت عجز مسموع نیست صفت جمالش چراغ شبستان فکر باد
تا راه بجائی توان برد - مطلعی را طالع جهانگیریست که مشرق صفت
آفتاب طلعتش گردیده و بیتی را بخت رعنائیست که بر تغبیه سرو قامتش
علم بر کشیده - بید از بختی که پیوسته از افسانهٔ عارضش دیده را آب
نمی داده - مردمکش گرد بالش خورشید در خواب زیر سر نهاده - بالفرض
اگر شبها مشعل خورشید می بود چون شمع تنک پرتو در برابر ماه این نمود -
از رشتهٔ شعاع خورشید رخسارش دام بهانت و طوطی ماه و نوری
آفتاب را در قفس کن - در باغ و بوستان بتماشای سرو و گل
اگر سروکاری باشد از رخسار و قامتش مگوی تا یکی از شرم در زمین
فرو شده و دیگری از تاب خجالت آب نشود - گو هم دعوی پاکی بجلاکش

بر تیغ برق کشند - طراوت ابر ہاے سیراب تشنۂ مزرع ہوا وا راق و شعلۂ برقہاے جانسوز سوختۂ خرمن فتنہ کاران - آبا وامہات بہ پرورش نتائج در شفقت پدری و مادری - و طبایع و آثار بر مسند فرمانہی در فرمانبری - روز و شب کان از نقب چشم براہ است کہ زر چہ مبلغ در کار و سال و ماہ بحر از صدف گوش برآواز کہ دُر چہ مقدار - پلۂ کرم ترازو را از زر و گوہر برداشتہ و بجزیہ دلہا در گنجینہ باز گذاشتہ - وعدہ را عمداً بر وفا تقدیم ندادہ کہ انچہ ارباب خواہش بزند بمزد انتظار حساب نکنند - نال خامہ اش ستون بنیان بر و احسان و شکن نامہ اش مسکن درستی عہد و پیمان - جبہۂ پادشاہی در موج خوے خجالت کشیدن ملامت حاصل دریا و کان بگدا بخشیدن - سران را علاج درد سر نخوت خاک پایش طلا کردن و خصمان را دارو سے خورۂ کینۂ سینہ بمحبتش دادن - کاریست بکرشمۂ تصرف ہمگنان را شکار خود کردن و بخلق خوش شمیم دشمنان را بندۂ دوستی ساختن - دوستی در آفرین دوستافست و دشمنی در نفرین دشمنان - مثنوی

دعایش زیب ہر لیل و نہاری	براے خلق پیدا گشت کاری
ببرج پادشاہی ماہ دیدند	بمعنی و بصورت شاہ دیدند
زآزادان ببندش ہر کہ افتاد	پسند حق پسندش ہر کہ افتاد
بخون گریش تا زان مہربانی	زاحیا کرد کانش زندگانی
ز دلہا کرد بیرون کینہ ہا را	در آسایش نہادہ سینہ ہا را

ثریا در سینه سوزیِ ایوانِ رفعت - عطارد در منصبِ دوات داری
چون قلم انگشت نمای اقلیمِ شهرت - برقِ سنان آفتِ خرمنِ آفتاب پنجه
نشانانِ مریخ کمانانِ مهتابِ شمشیر - سرِ تنگ مغزانِ امامت بگرزِ گران -
خدنگش سالکِ مسالکِ راستی گزینان - کمانش پشت پناهِ چله نشینان -
ازین سبب که عالمگیری به تیغ مستلزمِ فتنه و فسادِ خونریزیست به آدابِ
مرحمت و مکرمت و بعیتِ نصفت و عدالت توجه به تسخیرِ جهان گماشته -

و بتوفیقِ الٰهی عصمتش پاسِ حرمِ اهلِ دیار بعوضِ دیوارهای
سنگین کوه بهای آهنین برافراشته - و در ایامِ خیر انجامش شرر را
چه یارا که هنگامهٔ شوری بر بندد - و بیمنِ ضعیف نوازیش سیلی را چه
زهره که بر خشک گیاهی زوری کند - در گرفتنِ رخنهٔ فساد آتش و باد
و خاک و آب را گل ساخته - و بسترِ آسایشِ کبک و تیهو از سینهٔ باز
و شاهین انداخته - به پروردنِ صعوه چنگلِ عقاب آشیان است
و به شیر دادنِ بره ناخنِ شیر پستان - شبانان بحروفِ معدلتش
در دهانِ بندِ گرگان نوشتن - و بدبختان بحاصلِ سالِ نوکار و کهنه
بباد دادن - بروی ظالم زادگان گرد هیچی نشسته و ناخلفان را
فلک بفرزندی برداشته - تا شمیمِ چمنِ مویش نسیم از دکن به ختن
نمی برد آهوانِ آن سرزمین لب بچرا نمی گشایند ازینکه حرف
کم نکهتی بر نافه نیاید - اگر قرصِ زر از کانِ پخته بر نیاید خورشید را
در تنورِ شفق نهند و اگر دریا گوهرِ شاهوار بر نیارد ابرِ نیسان را

و بر کنارِ خوانِ احسانش استخوان را زآن بری مغز بر دوش. و در سرابستان خاطر
پژمردگان به آبیاریِ طالعش خرّمی اردی بهشت و خورداد پربار. و در
کارخانهٔ کسوت عشق پوشان بسرکاریِ طالعش مصالح خز و پرنیان در کار. نیست
مصرعی تعریف و قارش تا با توصیفِ کان سخایش مصرع نیاید سخن بوزن
نگراید و نامهٔ خورش اگر بعنوانِ قدرش معنون نگردد مضمونش جز بر دوش
قارون بار نگشاید. خطبه را از شرفِ نامِ او پایهٔ دست نداده که چوب سدره
و طوبی آلهٔ منبر نشود و سکه را نقشی بکرسی ننشسته که زر رقمِ نامِ قیصر و خاقان
نکند. چنانچه غبارِ رزمگاهش اکسیرِ فتح و نصرت است. خاکروبهٔ بزمگاهش
نیز کیمیای عیش و عشرت. کدام روز است که فراشان از ریختن گلهای سینه
برابر پشتهٔ صبح گلها بر نیارند و از بحرِ مجمرها نکهت جیب هوا عجب است که تا دامن
محشرها گلاب نبارند. و از نقشِ پای هر کس نشانِ آنچه در سر نوشته جدا شسته و اوّل هر آب
پیشانی از تطلعِ آفتاب نظر تنها گرفته. اگر خورشید تربیتش فرمایه نه شکفت
ببوی رسد و نه لعل برنگ. اگر مصلحِ مصلحتش نباشد نه صلح کارساز دفعِ جنگ.
بادی که بر خلافش برخیزد زودش بر خاک نشانند و آتشی که غضبش برفروزد
آبی روغن بران ریزند. ببازوی قدرت با شحنهٔ قدر در پنجه گیری
و با دستِ توانا از دستبردِ قضا در سبقت پذیری. در شفاعت سیاست
بجا نهد و بشفاعت بر دهانِ قضا. خوانِ مکرمتش را همین تنگیِ زمین. سپهر
حاجتش را دامنِ فراخیِ آسمانِ برین. از لآلیِ بساطِ نیسان صرف
بپاک گوهری و از اوانیِ سماطِ خورشید مشهور بکیمیاگری. کیوان بجواهر...

دیدہ ور از کحلِ خاکِ مقدمِ او آفتاب
بسمہ ور در زیرِ داغِ سجدۂ او آسمان

میفزاید اہلِ عرفان را لقاے او یقین
میدرد ارباب خواہش را سخاے او گمان

سیر تر دارد طمع را ہمتش در قحط سال
سبز تر دارد چمن را التفاتش در خزان

گفتمش افراسیاب تیغ گشتم منفعل
خواندمش نوشیروانِ عدل و اوم ترجمان

در گمان بگذشتہ گر بر کشت زارے گلہٴ
شحنۂ تحقیقش آوردہ پئے شان یکمان

با لبِ خصمش اگر باشد دہانِ خندہ باز
دشنہ بربند دہنش شاخ و برگ زعفران

از براے چشمِ نصرت در سر بازار رزم
باد گرزش می فروشد توتیاے استخوان

نیستش تو بیلے عز او بیگانہ گر بیندش
گشتہ بر ہر کس بقدرِ ہمتِ خود مہربان

نہ بے حشمت کہ اگر از حصار رفعتش آسمان را بہرے خوانند فلک را
پایۂ باشد و نے شوکت کہ اگر در حساب ہمتش عمان را ذرے شمارند دریا
آید ... بر سر میدان جولانش بدر را از ہلال حلقۂ نعل یکمان در گوش

نثرِ سوم

خوانِ خلیل

بسم اللہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

اے از تو براہلِ تخت واکلیل سبیل

گر ذکر جمیل است وگر قند رجلیل

نطق از تو بمعانیِ اربابِ خرد

انداختہ خوانِ سخن از خوانِ خلیل

شکرِ موہبت جلیلے کہ ابراہیم یکے از پیشکارانِ خوانِ خلتِ اوست چہ اندازۂ شرح و بیان - و بیانِ محمدتِ محمود یکہ حضرت محمد مصطفیٰ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم درادائے ثنائے او بعجز اعتراف نمودہ چہ یارائے کام و زبان - اولیٰ آنکہ از ریاضِ مناقب آلِ اطہار و اصحابِ اخیارش خصوصاً بہارِ ریاضِ ولایت علی مرتضیٰ علیہ التحیۃ والثنا کہ کلامِ معجز نظامش تحتِ کلامِ خالق و فوقِ کلامِ مخلوق است دریوزہ گری شاخ و برگِ سخن نمودہ نورسِ مراد از نہالِ ثنائے دارائے کامل خسرو عادل برچنید - قطعہ

داورِ عادل لقب دارائے ابراہیم نام

کعبۂ اربابِ ایمان قبلۂ اہلِ زمان

APPENDIX C

Part III.—*Khān-i-Khalīl*

OR

The Table of the Friend of God

APPENDIX C

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE, AND THE MERCIFUL

THE THIRD PREFACE

THE TABLE OF THE FRIEND OF GOD

O God, it is from Thee that the possessors of thrones and jewelled crowns have received their fortune, discourse whether it is in soft words or dignified tone, originates from Thee The faculty of speech has with Thy aid set the table of *discourse* of this preface entitled 'The *Khān-i-Khalīl*' for the entertainment of the wise.

To offer thanks for the grand gift of the Almighty Who has chosen Abraham for one of the servants of His table of friendship, is beyond all possibility of expression and statement, and to sing the praise of the All-praised Whom our Prophet Mohammad, the Elect, himself could not sufficiently eulogise, but on the contrary, confessed his inability to do so, is beyond the power of the palate and tongue So it would be better if, having begged a few leaves and branches (material[1]) from the garden of the praise of his holy progeny and the virtuous companions, particularly of 'Ali the spring of the garden of *Divine love*, may blessings and praises be showered upon him, whose inspired utterance is below the word of God but above that of His creatures, I should pick up the fresh fruit of my desire from the tree of the praise of the perfect and the just Emperor.

[1] شاخ و برگ. Branch and leaf here means material for this Preface.

Qit'a

He is a king with the title of the Just, and of the name of Abraham, he is the *Ka'ba* of the faithful and the *Qibla*[1] for the people of the age The eye of the sun is bright from the antimony of the dust of his trodden ground; the forehead of the sky is extensive under the spot of his prostration.[2] A glance at him enhances the faith of the seekers of divine knowledge, his bounty smashes the estimates of the people who desire (*i e*, gives far more than the expectations of the needy) His magnanimity allays greediness in the year of famine more than is ordinarily possible even in harvest, his care and attention keep the garden in Autumn fresher than in Spring I was ashamed to call him the *Afrāsiyāb* of the sword, I paid a fine for styling him the *Naushirwān* of justice If a flock of sheep in imagination, passed over a corn-field, the watchman of his investigation, did, at once, track out its pace If the laughing mouth opens its lip with that of its enemy the branch and leaf of the saffron tree lift up their dagger for shedding its blood The wind of his mace sells collyrium of bones for the eye of victory in the market of battle. If a stranger should see him, he would feel that he had no relation except him, he has shown kindness to every one befitting his own greatness

What a glory and honour it would be for the sky if it were called a tower of the castle of his loftiness, and what a dignity it would be for the sea,[3] if in comparison with his magnanimi-

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[1] قبله : synonym for the *Ka'ba*, the sacred house built by the Prophet Abraham, at the command of God. Here, the centre of hope

[2] That is, the sun is an eye which owes its light to the dust under his feet, and the sky is a forehead bowed down in prostration to him.

[3] عمان : The Gulf of Oman, a part of the Persian Gulf. Here, used in general sense meaning a deep sea.

ty, it is counted as an empty casket. In his race-course, the full moon has in its ear a ring of crescent from the shoe of his horse; and at the table of his benevolence, the bone has the refuse of marrow on its shoulder In the garden of the drooping-spirited, the bloom of the months of April and May,[1] through the watering of his kindness, is in exuberance, and in the cloth-manufactory, the wearers of coarse cloth, on account of his mild administration are seeking materials for silken clothes. Until the hemistich of the praise of his dignity is modulated with the praise of the mine of his bounty, the discourse does not look harmonious,[2] and if the writing of his deliberation is not headed by the title of his dignity, its contents will not be intelligible to any one but Croesus His sermons owing to the dignity of his name are so exalted that they desire to have the wood of the *Sidrah* and the *Tūbā*[3] for their pulpit (the sermons bearing his name are so sacred that the pulpit from which they are to be delivered desire to be made of the *Sidrah* and the *Tūbā* wood) His coin has been stamped with such impression as is likely to cause the currency to strike out the names of the *Kaiser* and the *Khāqān*[4] Just as the dust of his battle-field is the elixir of victory and triumph, so also the sweep-

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[1] اردی بهشت و خورداد : Names of the second and third Persian Calendar months corresponding to English months April and May.

[2] That is just as a single hemistich for want of rhyme does not sound well, so also his praise without the praise of his bounty would be defective

[3] سدرا و طوبی : Names of the trees growing in Paradise. Hence their wood is regarded as sacred and precious.

[4] The title of the emperors of Greece and China. The author means to say that the coin, bearing the name of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh is so popular that it makes us forget the names of such illustrious emperors as the Kaiser and the Khāqān.

ings of his banquet-house are the alchemy of festivity and luxury. What day is that when the carpet-spreaders, by their incessant scattering of scented flowers, do not amass heaps equal to the expanse of Morn [1] Of the incense of his censers the pocket of breeze is so full that it will be strange if the clouds do not rain roses till the approach of the day of Resurrection. From the foot-prints of every one he can trace what is in his head (*i e*, discover his thoughts), and by the astrolable of the forehead he can find out the height of the sun of men's nature If the sun of his patronage does not shine neither musk can acquire smell nor ruby colour If the world be deprived of his sound statesmanship, neither peace is possible nor war The wind that blows against his will is soon made to sit on dust (is doomed to destruction), and the water poured on the fire lit by his wrath would only serve as oil.[2] With his powerful arm he can grapple with the Kotwal of Destiny, and his strong hand defies even the hand of the decree of Fortune In interceding for the wicked, to shield them from due punishment, the seal of his terror is on the mouth of Fate [3] The table-cloth of his bounty shrinks owing to the narrowness of the earth, and the shield of his patronage has the expanse of the lofty sky for its skirt From his bejewelled carpet the cloud of the month of *Visān* [4] is full of the purest pearls, and from the cups of his dining table the sun has learnt alchemy Saturn fumigates the wild

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[1] The morning which is so vast that it spreads throughout the whole Universe, is, here, compared to the heaps of flowers

[2] That is, it would make the fire burn still more fiercely.

[3] That is, he is so terrible in punishing the wicked that even Destiny cannot open its lips to intercede for them

[4] Name of the seventh Syrian month corresponding to the English month, April, during which rain drops are said to produce pearls.

rue of the jewels in the box of the Pleides to protect the palace of his sublimity; Mercury, being his ink bearer, has earned a name like pen in the realm of Fame. The lightning of his spear is a disaster for the granary of brilliant sun. The armour of Mars is no better than linen against the moon-light of his sword. The head of the shallow-brained is entrusted to the feet of his frightful mace; his arrow is the guide of the path of those who take a right course; his bow is a support of the recluse. As the possession of the world with the point of the sword is attended by riot, rebellion, and bloodshed, he has thought of conquering the globe by the proclamation of kindness and generosity, justice and equity, and by the grace of God his royal dignity, having paid due regard to the honour of the inhabitants, has raised iron hills in place of stone walls. In his days of happy end, what power can *Evil* have to create a tumult of disturbance? Through the felicity of his support of the weak, the flood has no courage to oppress the dry grass. For the suppression of disturbance he has compounded fire, air, earth, and water, and he has spread the bed of comfort for the partridge and the quail on the breast of the hawk and the falcon For the nurture of the chaffinch, the claw of the eagle is a nest, and for giving milk to the lamb, the claw of the lion serves as a teat The shepherds, by talking of his justice, are busy in writing out charms to shut the mouths of the wolves, and the wicked are labouring in vain to reap the fruits of the new year The dust of orphanhood has settled on the faces of the tyrants and the sky has adopted the parentless children as its sons. Until the fragrance of the curl of his hair is carried by the breeze from the Deccan to Khutan, the deer of that land do not open their mouths for grazing, lest their musk-navels be blamed for scentlessness If the disk of gold does not come out from the mine in a perfect state, they place the sun in the oven of evening twilight (to torture it); and if the sea does not produce pearls fit for a royal crown, they place

the cloud of *Nisan* on the branding-iron of lightning. The moisture of the watery clouds thirsts for the sown-fields of his well-wishers (*i.e.*, eager to rain in the fields owned by them); and the flash of the soul-melting lightning is in passionate love with the granary of the rebellious. The contents of the upper and lower regions,[1] in nourishing the offspring, show parental affection, and men's natures and past glories, on the carpet of rule, are obedient to his orders. The mine is looking from a hole, day and night to find out how much gold will be required (by the King), and, year by year and month by month, the sea, with its ear of oyster, is keenly attentive to know in what quantities it should need pearls. He has lifted up the scale of the balance of his bounty full of gold and jewels; and for the purchase of the hearts he has left the door of his treasury open. Of set purpose he has not given promise precedence over fulfilment, so that the needy, whatever they get from the king, may not credit it in their account, on account of the trouble of long waiting.[2] The fibre inside his pen is a pillar on the foundation of Generosity and Kindness, and the fold of his letter is the resting place for the fulfilment of promise and contract. For the royal forehead to be covered with the sweat of shame is a sign of conferring on the beggar the produce of the sea and the mine.[3] The haughty should

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[1] According to Philosophers the Universe includes the skies, and the four elements: fire, air, earth, and water. Whatever relates to the upper region is called the آبا (fathers) and that to the lower region the امہات (mothers) and the rest of the creation نتائج (results)

[2] That is, gifts are purposely given by the king after long waiting and worry, so that the people may not feel the brunt of obligation that they are under.

[3] He gives enormous wealth to the needy but still feels ashamed of his bounty thinking that he has given very little.

rub the dust of his feet on their foreheads to cure themselves of the headache of pride; and his enemies should surrender their hearts to his love to obtain medicine for the leprosy of their malice To fascinate every one with a twinkle of the eye and to make his foes the slaves of his friendship with his sweet-scented politeness is but an easy task for him. His friendship is busy in making friends, and enmity in condemning enemies.

Masnawī

Prayers for him are an ornament to every night and day, a work has been furnished for the people to perform In the tower of his kingship they beheld a moon, and discovered a sovereign both in form and in deed Whoever falls into his slavery is a free man, whoever is humble is approved by his just approval.[1] Kindness is proud of his warm intercourse, life is among those brought to life by him He has driven malice out of the hearts of men, and set their breasts at ease. If the cloud carries moisture from the sea of his bounty, the festivities of Jamshīd will grow in place of verdure (i e enjoyment would become perennial like the growth of grass) If he is approached for a penny, he opens the head of treasury, on seeing a beggar he is beside himself (with joy) In seeking vengeance he makes delays, how great is his forbearance! It is a hundred times greater than you would suppose. He places his violence under the charge of his clemency, so that it may not pour its poison on his enemy If ever he ties a knot the sky is unable to untie

[1] If the word حق be treated as a proper noun meaning 'God' and not as an adjective qualifying the noun پسند the meaning would be

Whoever is liked by him is liked by God.

it. If the sky effected a hundred knots, he disentangled it with a sign from the tip of his finger. If one does not tread the road of his will, one's stick becomes a dragon in one's way.

The possessors of inner worth have carried off a store of wealth by praising his nature. Those of outer worth (*i.e.*, of beautiful countenance) equally desire to pick up the ornament of capability from the talk of his handsome face.[1] The excuse of my inability to describe him is not acceptable here. So may the quality of his handsomeness be a lamp for the bed-chamber of thoughts so that the road leading to destination be traversed in its light. The opening line of a poem has had the good fortune to conquer the world, since it has become the East of the praise of the sun of his countenance; and the couplet was lucky since it lifted the banner over the simile of his cypress-like stature.[2] That man is of awakened fortune who constantly gives light to his eyes by the story of his cheek, the pupil of his eye has put the small round pillow of the sun under its head to go to sleep.[3] Supposing that the nights were luminous like the torch of the sun, they would look like a feeble candle of faint light before the moon

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[1] That is, possessors of beautiful countenance wish to add real charm to their beauty by talking of his handsome face, as if, to say, there was no charm in their beauty up till then

[2] That is, the couplet which describes the stature of the King is very fortunate

[3] گرد بالش خورشید زیر سر نهادن An idiomatic expression meaning to remain awake That is to say the story of his beautiful face is so very interesting that far from exciting sleep, as is usual with the stories told at night, it keeps the audience awake, and their keenness to listen to it is ever on the increase

of his face With the thread of the rays of the sun of his cheek, plait a net, and entrap the parrot of the moon and the white partridge of the sun If you ever happen to go to the garden to enjoy the sight of the cypress and the rose, do not talk of his cheek and stature, lest the one (cypress) should sink into the earth for shame, and the other (rose) should melt into water by the heat of bashfulness The pearl has relinquished its claim to purity before his speech, and the charm of his stately gait has kept the partridge back from going a step further. Before the openness of his face what can be opened by the narrow-minded morn, and of what value is the splendour of the short-statured cypress before his lofty stature? There flies no bird that does not, on its wings, carry a letter to his net.[1] The fire of the love of a fire-worshipper falls into the water in which his shadow is reflected. The sight of the sun of his cheek is a spring for the sight, and the hearing of his speech is the crop of a sugar-plantation for the ear His auspicious eye-brows are the keys of locked doors. His pleasure-giving sight is more blessed than the shade of *Humā*[2] The sweetness of his smile is the salt of the table of speech

Masnawī

Do not talk of his stature, it has quite a different nature, put no question as to his face, it is another paradise (*i.e.*, quite different from the beautiful faces ordinarily known) Morn has begged its brightness from him, she has been doing this with diffidence every day God has created him for being seen: whoever saw him once did not see in himself again (*i.e.*, forgot his own self in total ecstasy) His forehead has the

[1] That is, falls into the net of his love.

[2] A bird of happy omen associated with the belief that the head overshaded by it in its flight wears a crown.

key of eyebrow in its palm; it has unlocked every door of *'Id* and *Nauroz*. In the garden, the shade of the stature of *Shamshād*[1] falls down on his feet from that lofty height. His lip mixed sugar with milk in the cradle, through his speech the ear is an object of envy for the caldron of honey. With his smell the white rose is busy in manipulating freshness (*i.e.*, looking fresh); with his colour redness is occupied in preparing a cosmetic for the face. The whiteness of his neck is the morning for the night of his hair, the blackness of hair upon his cheek is *spring* for the flower-garden of his face. If you dislike the garden go and sit in his lane; if your sight has grown old make it new by looking at his face.

After this glad tidings be to one who talks (in praise) of his eloquence. Although there are rich customers for the commodity of discourse, yet his weighty thoughts are more valuable than there is earnest money in the pocket of the subtle intellect to buy them. To hear his verses, which deserve pearls to be scattered over them, tongues are entirely ears, and in reading his shining couplets the ears are entirely tongues. The *Sirius* on account of its analogy to his verse, has acquired such a dignity that the sky, with its thousand revolutions, shall not bring for it even so much as one downfall.[2] The

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[1] The tree of *Shamshād* on account of its exquisite symmetry is regarded as the Queen of the garden, and is therefore by nature careless and little disposed to pay homage to any one, but even one such as that, is forced to make its obeisance to the king when he goes to the garden for his constitutional.

[2] All planets descend from the Zenith towards the Nadir according to the revolution of the skies. But the *Sirius* (شعری) which is akin by reason of its name to the King's verse (شعر) is immune from that deterioration to which other planets are subject.

brevity of his subtle text, in spite of the copiousness of the commentaries, stands in need of his explanation to elucidate the marginal notes of the commentators.[1] If he writes of an assembly of entertainment, the page produces the planet Venus from his dot, and if he speaks of war, the gall-bladder of Mars melts away with terror. The light thrown by his speech on intricate points is such that even the dullest cannot but understand them He observes that if a speech should need repetition, the speaker of quick perception, at once, ought to discover his want of competence in the matter of adequate expression, even though the hearer be of dull intellect, and that, similarly, if, before the speech is finished, the thread of comprehension is not grasped, the hearer, must, likewise, perceive his own obtuseness,[2] even though the speaker's mode of expression be a confused one [3] And what is observed by him in the art of poetry is not, was not, and will not be within the power of grasp of any one He says that an ode should be free from superfluous lines, and in meaning the *Matla'*[4] should be the *Maqta'*[5], so that no loftiness beyond that might be imaginable, and from the beginning down to the end, each verse in the ode

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[1] That is, the notes of the commentators on the margin of the book are short of their function, and until he himself explains the text, the meaning, owing to its metaphysical subtlety, remains hidden in darkness

[2] In an old edition the word تغافلی reads as قاصری (imperfection) which makes no difference in meaning

[3] In order to be entitled to be called '*clear*' a speech should be understood without needing repetition, in order to be called '*intelligent*' a hearer must follow the trend of spoken words even before they have all been uttered.

[4] The opening verse of the poem.

[5] The last verse of the poem in which the poet introduces his nom-de-plume.

should look more suited and appropriate than the one following it, so that, if the order be reversed, the last line may easily become the first and the best verse of the ode. The subject of such a poem should be love and affection, and counsels and exhortations should find place in other branches of poetry And, whatever be taken as the basis of the poem, whether *Firāq*[1] or *Wisāl*,[2] should be maintained throughout. To have one line containing a heart-rending love and the other a heart-burning aversion is not proper If the ode contains rhymed words, suitable meaning alone should strike the ear Rhymes of equal measure are preferable everywhere, specially in a quatrain, in which the rhythm is peculiar to itself[3], and letters and words in the construction should be so familiar to pronunciation and so adaptable to breath that the slowness of reading, due to stammering of tongue, be changed into quickness, and there should be left no room for alteration or placing a word before or after, and the expression and the lucidity should be such that the meaning too, like rhyme and metre, may enter the brains of novices, and the most appropriate words that may be of some use to people should be employed whether in reading or writing, and such as may prove ornaments for the courtiers on proper occasions of speech, and may also be a stock for the writers of the Royal court in writing out their notes, He also lays stress on the fact that the long curves of letters should be made with an eye to draftsmanship and the art of painting, so that the calligraphists readily sitting in the posture of *Qit'a*-writing, may not have to go round books in search of a model. He also instructs us to keep in view the requirements of musicians, and says that in the operation of

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[1] Separation from the beloved

[2] Union with the beloved.

[3] و این مزیتی علاحده است. Lit. and this is yet another beauty

breath and sound the division of words and the adjustment of phrases, in the balance of harmony and regulation, should be in consonance with the timing and pitch of voice; and notwithstanding all this fastidiousness there should be easiness and flow instead of affectation and artificiality Men of thought and meditation know that such minute searches are not within the reach of any one else nor will they ever be

Hemistich

The disposition of the King is above all dispositions (*i. e.*, more pleasing and attractive than that of others)

And if any one refuses to believe in this he can find out the reality by perusing the treatise on the game of Chess written by his most sacred pen As it is customary with the conquerors of countries to practise war in peaceful assembly, to push back rivals with foresight, expeditiously to make the deceitful take to their heels by the checkmate of *Bishop*, to take straightforward steps to remedy the crooked nature of the vicious, and to remain well-informed of the tactics of the enemy, the blessed heart takes immense delight in spreading the chess-board And in spite of a thousand efforts, even the cautious players, who are devotedly in love with it, have not been able to play more than ten or twelve games at a time, while in the aforesaid treatise there are plans according to which even thirty or forty games can be arranged and played simultaneously (*i. e.*, one single individual can play games against 30 to 40 players at a time without the least chance of any flaw in his manoeuvres) If the memory of the people could have the power of endurance, and bear the weight of calculation on their shoulders, the cash of the treasures of hundreds and thousands of plans would be forthcoming under this head, to say nothing of the treasure of tens (*i. e.*, 30 or 40 moves as suggested in the treatise); and these with such skill that at the end of each of the tactics and the defeat of the enemy, the remaining units should form them

selves into circles, squares, octagons, hexagons, a feat which has checkmated the intelligence of the masters of art. What an excellent thought and meditation!

Masnawī

See the Bishop-decoying plan of the King; he has made the country secure against danger With his straightforwardness the lathe has scraped away crookedness from the nature of the Queen The door of victory over the *castle* of the enemy is open to his castle, his pawn is the Knight-catcher and the Bishop-feller It is for him to bloom and for the enemy to fade, for his rival to lose and for him to win. If he plays the game with *Jad-Rakhsh*[1] the latter gets off soot free if he quits the game drawn *Jam* is not alive or he would have been put to shame, where is *Shāh Rukh*[2] that he should acknowledge his defeat?

Quatrain

The thoughtfulness of the King gives palate to sound thinking, he plays chess with deceitful *Time* at the shortage of one *castle* Who has matured such a plan on this plain? He takes away comfort from his heart only to give it back to that of his subjects

If even an atom from the excellence of his accomplishments be described, it would not be altogether useless The seekers of perfection when they know that so much efforts were shown by him despite the engagements of administration and the enjoyment of royal pleasures they would certainly strive more

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[1] Name of a famous player at the game of Chess. The meaning is that even an expert like him would thank his stars if in playing with the king he escapes defeat.

[2] Name of another expert in the game of Chess.

than ever It has often been heard from his miraculously-eloquent tongue that in the days of practising music it frequently happened that he sat down at sunset and rose up (as late) when the wire of the sun's ray shone on the wire of the *tambour*.

Hemistich

Judge of his zeal in every action from this example

In the art of painting he excels the painters in that he is one of the fair While placing the looking-glass before him he paints his own picture, he prepares a rouge for his face by mixing the redness of the tulip with the whiteness of the narcissus It is no wonder if the pious become image-worshippers by the mandate of justice If he paints the huge body of an elephant on the feather of a gnat, or draws the picture of a tiger on the eye of an ant, the one (*i e*, the elephant), through the skill of his painting, makes his trunk a polo-stick on the ball of the earth, and the other (*i e*, the tiger) grapples with the bull of the sky to attack on his haunch. Thanks to God that *Mānī* and *Bihzād* have escaped scot free since they have not lived in this age to bear the shame and ignomy, else they would have felt ashamed of their art. Also, if *Sairafi* and *Yakut*[1] were living, they, too, would have their heads bowed down like the letter و and their brows wet with the sweat of shame like the letter ش[2] The pens have one and all written a bond on their foreheads to the effect that even if they were to receive a blow from the sword of an enemy on their heads they would never swerve from his (the King's) allegiance, and place their shoulders under the yoke of others. The peacock of his pen has erected a canopy over the head of the word and

[1] Two expert calligraphists The former lived in the time of *Musta'sim*, an 'Abbasid Khalif. The latter came after him.

[2] The dots over the letter ش are here compared to the drops of perspiration on the forehead.

meaning, and with its foot-prints has made a bait and a net for the bird of sight from the curves and dots of his writing. Those who are in constant trouble owing to their ill fortune paste a line from his writings on their foreheads (to become rich) to bow in gratefulness. His ink is from the smoke of the lamp of the sun and his brush is from the curls of the locks of the Venus. The violet-haired are astonished to see the garden of spikenard in his face. Before the symmetry of the splendour of his ا the stature of the *Shamshād* is bending low, and before the curl of his م the hyacinth-haired feel ashamed At the smile of the teeth of his س the teeth of the jessamine are hidden under the lips of its petals; and before the fine shape of the hoop of his [illegible] the head of the dimple of the chin (of the beautiful) covers itself with the verdure of the soft hair, and the files of their eyelashes, in spite of their being so deadly as to cause a wholesale disturbance in the world, are themselves rendered topsy turvey by his vowel marks, and the mole itself, being in love with his dot, has burnt its body so terribly that the scar left on it cannot again be rendered white (healed) by even camphor paste

Quatrain

His writing[1] has left no wrinkle on foreheads, every dot of it is filled with the odour of musk The veil on his face is made of the warpings of sight, otherwise the worship of soft hair would have become a religion.

Qit'a

See the miracle of his pen, what an attachment it has; even if it traverses the distance of a hundred years' journey, it is

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[1] Mark the play on the word خط which also means a letter or writing. The soft hair on the cheeks are, here, represented as خط by reason of the common attribute of blackness.

still before the eyes. Look at the freshness of his writing that from the eye-like letters (such as ط and ص) you will see fountains running over the meadows of pages If by mistake I compared his writing with that of *Yakūt* I had to give a *Badakshān*[1] of the rubies of meaning as a penalty for this misnomer There is a lock of lips on the mouths of the critics; since every dot of his is heart-bewitching Why should not his ink-pot be so full of love for his pen, since no such candle lamp has ever been seen anywhere in a family

Despite all these excellences and perfections he treats all his accomplishments as the effect and music as the cause (*i.e.*, principal accomplishment), and the story of the incompetency of Avicenna and the tale of his own mastery, are carried to the ears of the people of the world through song If he opens his lip to claim a miracle in the art of singing ears begin to speak instead of tongues, to bear testimony to his claim. He calls the hand, which does not move on a fixed principle, a fruitless branch, and the chest, whose breath is not associated with melody, a musical instrument of broken wires. The single bird nightingale became *Hazār* on account of its chant, and is considered superior to an ostrich The turtle dove on account of its very simplicity of speech is preferred to a peacock of resplendent feathers All agree that the sky in none of its revolutions could produce a musician like Khwāja 'Abdul Qādir, but from his works it appears that none was more incompetent than he, and, for all his skill knew not even the rudiments of the art, (*i.e.*, he was but a novice) Through his love for mastery he has placed the movement of the limbs of the

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[1] Name of a city in Khurāsān famous for its rubies. Here stands for 'plentifulness.'

old and the young under the care of the *Kotwāl*[1] of principle; and with his affection for training his pupils in the school of their cradles, he has appointed the teacher of harmony for the cry and laughter of babies (*i.e.*, in his time their cry and laugh are not without harmony) The finger playing with plectrum, is greasy in untying the knots of the dumb tongues, and the softness of the principle is busy in rubbing oil over the paralytic hands. If there is any deviation from the right path on the part of the branch, the Zephyr is admonished (why it did not train it properly), and if the leaf claps its hands against principle, the northerly wind (which opens buds and refreshes hearts) is chastised. The sound of melody has driven out wailing from the tongue of the mourners, and the exhilarating influence of melody has brought the closed lips under its control. Ever since songs were elicited from the motions of the skies, such an easy-flowing trill has not been heard from the throat of the heavens, and on the blank page of sound so excellent an impression has never been stamped. From the repetition of the rythmic phrases and the high pitch in songs, the love and fondness of listeners are always on the point of increase like the doubling of squares on a chess-board Indeed in the matter of song and melody the ears of the dead have suffered a mighty loss, and the times have put an extraordinary ring of favour in the ears of those living

Masnawī

Since his musical instrument has been transformed into joy, through his plectrum, no ear listens to the bewailings of

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[1] A police officer of the rank of a City Inspector. What the author means to say is that the King being an adept in the art of music, the whole country is replete with harmony, so much so that even the involuntary movements of the hands and feet of the people are on some principle.

ماند Tired or fatigued.

ill-fortune. Like the lip the ear of every one is intoxicated with song as if the effect of *Nauras* is nothing less than old wine. Through his song the body of *Breath* is diffused with life; his plectrum is a healing balm for every wound. Until breath was employed in singing his composed songs, it did not produce any attraction in its words about the fair.[1]

Quatrains

What a charming music the King has invented! There are a hundred chants mixed with every breath

If you shut your palm like a bud, it would be filled with the flowers of song, the air is so immensely replete with music

When the song of the King goes out for a walk, it passes through the brain and the heart of both the careless and the careful.

From the mouth and the tongue of the musicians to the ears of the audience, it travels constantly over the head of the sense of hearing The freshness of life is from his fresh song, he alone can pull the ears of Venus

Just as the wind carried aloft the throne of Solomon,[2] so, also, the throne of his (King's) fame is wafted on the shoulders of breath. Even his saltish chants are sugar for the ears; and the purity of his speech is a pearl for them.

From him *Song* raised a banner for the conquest of the world, he captured the realm of the tongue, also that of the ear

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[1] The author means to say that the words of him who does not sing the verses from *Nauras*, can produce no charm when they are employed in the praises of the fair.

[2] It should be noted that the throne of the Prophet Solomon upon whom God bestowed unparalleled kingdom and wealth was wafted in the air on the shoulders of genii.

As the happy-footed messengers of sweet tongue roam about in all the corners of the world with the purses of the sea and the mine on their shoulders and round their waists, and the promises of the payment of the proceeds of villages and fields heaped in their mouths and on their tongues, in search of the skilled professionals, especially the maidens of the art, that is to say, the masters of the theory of music, every one who has got practice and acquired fame in his profession gladly accompanies them. And in Nauraspūr, a building has been newly erected and furnished for the residence and accommodation of the expert musicians. Of these so many have thronged that it would be strange if even the disturbance of times could fix a rent roll of dispersion on their abundance (*i e*, even time cannot scatter them); and of the individuals descending from the family of *Bārbud*[1] and the tribe of *Nakisa*,[2] who have put in their ears the ring of his pupilage, and made their foreheads to bow down to his mastership, and who with their voice tie the feet of the nightingale with a piece of thread[3] and who with their cheeks laugh at the bloom of the rose, some nine hundred choice masters of perfection and beauty always stand as sentinels at the court of the King's palace of sky-like foundation. And with the clamour of the singers, the dome of the sky is ringing with such echoes that the hearers will not be deprived of songs even if the singers cease to sing; and with the tumult and noise of the players on musical instruments the trees set up such a dance as will not make the leaves cease clapping hands even if the foot stops keeping time with the sound.

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[1] Name of a famous Persian musician, native of Jahrūm, a town near Shīrāz.

[2] Also a musician.

[3] That is to say, they are so sweet-voiced that the nightingale of a thousand notes is caught in the net of their melody.

Quatrains

The world is saturated with melody and all its requisites; it has become a casket for the pearl of the sound and echo. Old sorrows have become strangers to the heart; since the world came to be acquainted with the song of *Nauras*.

In every corner the banner of festivity and rejoicing has been raised, life has been sown in the body with the water of melody. The child who has newly come into the world of existence has had its palate raised[1] with the tune of song

It is a city where the tulip grows warm-blooded; from its narcissus-like eye magic comes out. Put your foot in motion for a walk into the forest and behold how love springs out of the dew of beauty

Discourse is eager to erect a dwelling in the palate and tongue with a description of the city of *Nauras* in order to make its old palace habitable, but shows slackness in furnishing itself with the building-material for fear of prolixity. If I cannot undertake to praise it as befits a city, there is no obstacle in the way of my doing so, at least, as befits a quarter of a city. Since it is better to say something than to say nothing at all, tell the faculty of hearing not to complain of the want of hearing (*i.e.*, listening to the King's pre-eminence)

Quatrain

This city, which is an ornament for the seven Empires, is the pleasure-house of a monarch with the crown of *Jam* on his head It is a city which claims superiority over Egypt, aye, its Joseph is Abraham (Ibrahīm)

What an excellent city! Every day the sun, the illuminator of the world, looks upon the suberbs of the Royal Palace as

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[1] It is usual for nurses to raise the palate of a new-born child with finger soaked in honey

its bright mansion, and sweeps the dust, settled on it, by the tumult of the advent of morning from off the whitewashing of its doors and walls from morning till evening with the kerchief of the threads of its golden rays. The world is full of hopes to see that the old world has got new life. The earth has the dust of the prostration of gratitude on its forehead for the better fulfilment of its desires.[1] Such a length and breadth has been given to it by the founder as will not allow the sky to revolve round it without a scratch.[2] Had he ordered it to be built to befit his pomp and glory, the soil of the whole globe would then have made only a brick of clay.

Poem

Though it is situate at the foot of a mountain, it has put forth its head from the mountain's collar (i.e., its height excels that of the mountain) If you look at it, the earth appears as high as the sky, if you look at its door it would seem as if the door of victory is thrown open on the country When the sun salutes the palace of the king the brow of the arch bears the burden of a reply.[3]

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[1] The meaning is that the earth is grateful to this newly-built city, the cause of gratefulness being that the latter has brought with it greater joy and perpetual peace and prosperity on earth

[2] That is to say, it is so nearly equal to the sky in dimensions that the latter by coming in contact with it receives a scratch.

[3] That is, the palace is so dignified that in reply to the greetings of the sun it only makes a sign with its brow, and even that most unwillingly, as it is not unfrequently done by great men in reply to the salutations of men of inferior rank

The ground drew its skirt away from the Ninth heaven,[1] it established the integrity of its claim by reason of the elevation of its plinth.

The high and the low have, likewise, in imitation of him, given durability and elevation to their buildings; and with the erection of mansions, halls, and other massive buildings, the ground is so much pressed down by the weight of materials that the back of the cow supporting the Earth has bent and become uneven Owing to the multiplicity of edifices and the extensiveness of court-yards there is in every house a quarter and in every quarter a city Whatever street you step in, shrill singers, with the aid of the current of the moisture of the stream of melody, swim in the sea of principle Everything according to its nature is prosperous and successful. *Beauty* is in bold display, *love* is in total fearlessness of ignominy, fond desire in tearing the collar has its nails always at work,[2] and patience in darning patches gets knots in the thread, cloisters have the bustle of taverns; the pious are the disciples of drunkards, the shop of profit in the street of merchants is thriving, and the shield of soldiers is devoted to the care of the subjects, since it is employed in giving money to them.[3]

Masnawī

Grief is contributed no share by the people of that city, it is a *talisman* for the driving away of the sorrows of Time It is secure against the inroads of plunder, because prosperity

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[1] That is, it did not like its association with the Ninth heaven on account of the latter's obvious inferiority.

[2] It may also mean that fond desire (or madness) to tear open the collars is seeking nails

[3] What the author means is that soldiers in other countries are generally hard-hearted and given to plunder and loot, but here they are exceptionally humane and help the poor with money.

keeps the streets thereof blocked. The corner of the musicians' lane produces Venus; the breeze of their door and balcony is replete with melody Piety is bound up with the wire of their voices; inwardly it has its ears on their musical instrument. At every step there is a window with its head reaching the sky; at every window there is to be seen a wonder The curly locks hanging down to the feet of the beloved, draw the hearts of the onlookers upwards. The greedy lover is after his own business (in putting forward his claim for love); the corner of the lane of love-making is without a Police Officer (i.e., unobstructed) If, in the course of conversation one talks of home, the tongue wails with the pain of exile [1]

The door of every shop on the road leading to the market, which appears to be a tent through the rays of the sun, is a scene of much profit and transaction, and the law of straightness and upright dealing among the shopkeepers of that place is so keenly observed that the dishonest cannot go astray from the right course. Just as the sky has girt up its loins firm in servitude to the king, by wearing the belt of the milky way, so also the Earth has tied its waist (i.e., is ready) to benefit the people What did the country garden want from the rose-market of the Deccan? It wanted this garden the city of Nauras It compares in length with the speech of the ardent lovers, and in width with the thoughts of the lunatic In consequence of the excess of elegance and beauty it is an object of pride for the sun; the towers of the shops are filled with the sun and the moon (i.e., handsome shopkeepers) The black-eyed sweet-hearts with their charming looks require sugar to pay tribute to their saltishness (i.e., their saltish beauty is sweeter than sugar itself). They

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[1] That is, the strangers live so comfortably in this city that the talk of home pains them.

send the message to the heart through their eyes (i.e., they give looks of love); their abusive lips are full of kisses. When life tried to purchase them, it lost its heart as earnest money in the bargain. The head has a burn of lunacy, yes, the beauty of the common folk is full of chastity Do not ask me of the miracle of those magic eyes, put no question as to those pious-cheating infidels Patience and endurance have thrown themselves into infidelity, God save us from those cord-bound waists They waylay the stockholders of religion; they rob ass-loads of the cash of heart and life The head of piety, whenever it ached, it applied the sandal of their love to the brow

What can be described of the increase of affection, the wiping away of grief, the sway of fascination and the allurement of heart.

Verse

Maybe the clay of Adam, before which the angels prostrated themselves, was from the clay of this land

It behoves the affluent traders to carry this holy soil to Persia and Turkistan as their merchandise, so that, in the event of the ravages of plunder and devastation, a plaster of this soil may be prepared for the repair and rebuilding of the ruined hearts and deserted chests If it is applied to the eye as antimony whatever will germinate from the earth till the day of resurrection, shall be visible.

Poem

What an excellent soil, the augmenter of good fortune, if a crow rolls on it, it becomes *Humā*. Its dust which gives polish to antimony takes precedence over collyrium. The breeze has received fragrance from its dust; it seems as if it has thrust its head into ambergris.

Tayammum[1] with it looks so fresh-faced that even the nectar is ashamed of making ablution with water. The purity of its breeze is such that if I give it preference over the air of Paradise, the gatekeeper of heaven would, at once confirm the breath of my statement. Lovers who come to this place empty their heads of their beloved's affection and fill it with the air of this place, and until they become the wellwishers of this land success does not very well attend to their object. Air worship is deprecated everywhere, but here it is appreciated.

Poem

It is a breeze from which the water of life trickles down; they press but once and a hundred lives ooze out. The breath, when it is spent in praise of this city, becomes the nourisher of the soul; purity has got a robe of honour from it. The Eastern and Northerly winds are of the breath of Jesus, on account of their passing through this town; temperance is one of those nurtured by it.

Its water like wine, washes the dust of sorrow from off the face of the heart, with its moisture the soil of the body grows fibres of health instead of grass. If the fish of its fountain were thrown into the nectar it would tumble down at several places when moving on its body on account of the pain of separation from the former, and whenever the Messiah wanted to quench his thirst he let down into it the bucket of the reflection of the sun The nectar does not weigh itself with it for fear lest on account of its extreme heaviness it should become ashamed of itself.[2]

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[1] Rubbing the hands and face with clay by way of ablution when water is not within reachable distance or its use is deemed injurious to health.

[2] If the word کوثر refers to the water of the city of Nauraspur and not to the nectar, the meaning would be:
The nectar does not like to weigh itself against is for fear lest on account of the latter's great weight it may prove light.

Poem

If the lip of a gimlet were wetted with this water, the brilliance of the pearl would be put to shame.

It so washes the rust from off the care-worn hearts that the lips of the stream become rusty. The sun cannot draw its reflection back out of it for all the ropes of rays it has employed

May the pleasure of walking in the
garden and grove be the lot
of his companions and
friends

The ground of its green meadows with the exudation of dew has turned into an ideal ground Through the kindness of the soil of Nauraspūr they carry the old turquoise-stone to Nishāpūr, and under the shade of Narcissus and red rose there are heaps of scents and mounds of tints diffused into one another, and the well-wishers of the cypress (i e, the doves) and the bablers of the rose (i e, the nightingale) are seen wings interwoven with wings, and voice reverberated by voice. Breaths are intoxicated with the talk of the wine-cup of the narcissus, and the sight is tinged with the observation of the colour of tulip With the robust growth of trees the autumn receives a slap (i. e., is disgracefully pushed back); and with the fruitfulness of the branches, the spring is benefited.

Masnawī

They are trees that have never seen the face of the autumn, all are young like the hopes of the old

Through the weight of the fruits the aspen-tree of that land has laid its head on the ground to bow in reverence. Through the north wind the jessamine-flower looks sprightly like a moth spreading its wings over a candle-lamp. On the branch the mango rolls over the leaf with coquetry like a parrot spreading

its wings in the cage. Its tree is so attractive and heart-ravishing that the wind beats its breast with a stone (i. e. completely enamoured of it). Freshness has wetted it so much that the sun slipped under its shade. Wrinkles have disappeared from the brow of the leaflet; dew has fallen on the back and the face of the leaf. In every direction with the tillage of morning the air of paradise is blowing gently in profusion. Whether it is evening or fore-noon, the air, on account of mirth, resembles the morning breeze, and all verdure is dew-sprinkled. The body of the parrot through continued cries got tired; she is seeking to have its wings from the verdure

At his imperial command they have brought the seed of eloquence and fluency from Arabia and Turkistān, and the grain of knowledge and art from Persia and Khurāsān, and have sown them in this holy land, and raised a good crop by virtue of the richness of the soil and the nature of the climate. Greece, if it were not in water,[1] would have been in fire on account of its jealous heart.

Quatrain

Be sure of good luck in this city, be the pearl of reality for the sea of outward form In every art be ever progressing, on account of the geniality of its climate without undergoing the trouble of practice

What an excellent master of mature judgment and embellisher of a country he is, who, by laying the foundation of this city in the Deccan, has made it the object of pride for 'Irāq and Khurāsān. It is customary with the seekers of praise that they, sometimes, by talking of the sword sharpen the sword

[1] It is a common belief that a Province of the ancient Greece owing to the abnormal degree of wisdom of its sages once challenged the authority of God and was consequently cursed and sunk under water.

of speech on the whetstone of the tongue, and sometimes with the description of the hawk let fly the hawk of discourse in the hunting ground of meaning, and sometimes by praising the motion of the horse take out the horse of their genius from refractoriness; so I thought why I should not enhance my position and nearness to the king by speaking of the favourites of the royal court. It further occurred to me why should I not open the door of good fortune to my luck by talking of those who stand at the foot of the imperial throne Such worthy friends are many If God wills, a separate Memoir of the dignitaries will be written At present I make my tongue and palate happy by speaking of some of the servants of this great Empire and the courtiers of the king To assign to the sublime names of these grandees, who adorn the page of assembly, their respective places, is not within the power of the writer The king has put them all in positions, most pleasing to himself, or, rather, in some instances, owing to excessive affection, has given them precedence over his own person

Hemistich

I am proud of these just and frank-hearted aristocrats.

The first is the gracious Nawāb Shāh Nawāz Khān, of exalted position, who has been highly honoured with this title by royal favour, and on account of his exceeding love for the country, and experience of work, holds the rank of '*Umdat-ul-Mulk*' In protecting cities and benefiting people he excels all It is patent to all that his glory and greatness are not the result of any lucky stroke of chance, but are exclusively due to his own intrinsic merit and worth.

Masnawī

The overwhelming favour of the king graced him justly, the president of the assembly (*i.e.*, the king) discovered the

possessor of the worth.[1] Religion and the country are under his protection, the tower of the fort of the empire is firm through him. The world has not a single soul like him; go round the seven empires and satisfy your mind. There is no minister equal to him in the whole world, whatever is done contrary to his practice is not law. Where has the sky the requisites of greatness? Even if it had them, where are such refined manners? When he writes a threatening letter the pen in his hand becomes a two-edged sword

In priority of service he is ahead of all, and exceeds all in weightiness of faith He has made his proud head reach the sky, and it behoves him; and against superiors he is ornamented with superiority, and it befits him. In addition to the inborn capacity, by virtue of which he has from his very boyhood upper hand in every branch of knowledge, he has no respite to wipe off sweat in the acquisition of attainments and in the securing of perfection and diligence He is so near quick perception that with the slight motion of the pen of swift-writers of high penmanship it is quite easy and convenient for him to discover the subject-matter Even before the entrance of breath in one's breast to utter a speech he finds out what word will it mould, and, also, what meaning it intends to convey. His quick wit of ready reply has made all eloquent speakers to confess the dullness of their speech, and his sharp criticism makes

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[1] خور = Sun. It is also used in the sense of 'worth' of 'merit.' Hence صاحب خور = master of the sun or merit. But if read as خوره (with the suffix ه) it would mean 'one's own.' Hence صاحب خوره would be equivalent to مصاحب خوره i.e., his own courtier. In this sense the meaning would be:

The king appointed him to be the President of the ministerial assembly.

people of robust intellect to admit their ignorance If, when an insoluble question is put to him, he has ever to contemplate a little, the reason is that owing to a host of ideas, he is at a loss to know with what reply he should open his lips.

His speech has made the hard workers in the science of Mathematics lie at ease (i e, in mathematics he is so expert that he has, with his speech, already solved all difficult problems so that its students need take no extra pains for their solution) From the physiognomy of faces he can tell about the past, the present, and the future On the table of his speech the sweetness of the bag of sugar fills the mouth of the colocynth, in his balance of calculation the bisection of the globe of the earth is as trifling as a seed of grain or mustard; with the firmness of his judgment the sight of the axis-observers has become a levelling-rod, and compared with the excellence of his politeness the robe of honour of the wearers of brocade is no better than a mat. To the horse of his sense of honour the veins serve as a whip for scamper (i e., when his sense of honour is touched he becomes excited so that his veins are swollen); and to the tree of his magnanimity the leaves serve as a palm for scattering gold The nearness of his plan to rightness is the nearness of light to the sun The distance of his view from fault is the distance of the west from the town of *Khatā*[1] (in the East). In his peace-treaty the letters and words embrace and hug one another in one garment; and in his ultimatum for war every line is a file-breaking soldier The noose of his thought is made of no ineffective threads and his kettle of thoughts has not the broil of imperfectness. The straightness

[1] Name of a town in Chinese Turkestan famous for its musk-deer and arrow Note the suggestiveness of this word which also means 'fault' or 'mistake'

of his pen is such that if any one talked of him in *Wāsit*,[1] the pen would not again take a cut (i.e., need not be mended). The rightness of his comprehension is such that if Maulvī Ma'nawī[2] were living he would not have composed this verse. "People are in sad want of right understanding; what I say is in proportion to your capacity of grasp."

His clay and air (the two elements in his constitution) never lay dust on the heart of any one (i.e., he does not cause grief to any one). Water is one of the thirsty, and fire one of the novices God had made him so rich in himself that his only want lies in the contraction of brows which he has to borrow from others when indignant. Nothing held its passage over his heart (i.e., his mind never felt inclined to a desire for anything) but that it got its object. Some may suspect that in consequence of the excess of favours and kindnesses I may have exaggerated the laudable actions and praiseworthy qualities of the king, but I fear lest a majority of them who are well aware might think otherwise they may say why should not one, who cannot do full justice to his praise, make a confession of his own helplessness (i.e., incompetence) from the very beginning? Thanks to God that he has been honoured and exalted befitting his worth and position, and the Emperor who appreciates merit so lifted him up from the ground that in *Nauraspūr*, owing to the loftiness of the bed-chamber of his palace, the earth has become a prop for the sky. His balcony of lofty foundation is so high that if the

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[1] Name of a town in 'Irāq, the reed of which is so fine that pens are made out of it.

[2] Surname of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī the leading Sūfī poet of Persia, who is regarded as one of the greatest moral and spiritual teacher of Islām. The above verse is reproduced from his Masnawī the most famous Sūfistic poem that exists in Persian language.

vapours of the seas did not intervene, the people of Persia would count its steeples from the new roof erected by him. Its portico is so extensive that Speech, with all its length, cannot cover its courtyard If the shade of its weightiness casts itself it will make the back of the cow of the earth a boat.

Quatrain

A high-minded never builds a low house, such a foundation is laid by none except one having as vast a palm as the ocean

The cow and the fish both have clamoured that the edifice is very heavy, it is feared that the earth might sink down.

The more his rank and position are elevated the kinder he is to the people The different sections of people especially the foreigners in the Deccan, are the most unjust and ungrateful if they do not make their hearts the home for his love, and devote their tongues to praying for him [1] Since he has sown and is sowing the seed of love for all in the spiteless breast of the king, and with the sweat of labour in rendering useful services to the public he has preserved the honour of all and does preserve it.

Poem

He learnt from the sky the way of service; he did whatever the heart of the King wished him to do.

Hereafter if he is called the chief of the physiognomist it is just, since he has served the king who knows the secrets of the heart. The critical judgment of the king has increased his value and position, he has tried him in the forge of pain

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[1] وقف : Exclusive reservation of a thing for a definite purpose by virtue of a legal decree. Generally it applies to setting aside a portion of one's estate or income for religious purposes.

and pleasure. All orators acknowledge the excellence of his speech, he has explained what even the faculty of speech was unable to do No one has so picked up the flowers from the garden of Mathematics as he, he has unravelled the mysteries of the stars and the skies (i.e., he is well-versed in both Mathematics and Astronomy) I cannot conceal him from the notice of the public, he has done me all that could be done through magnanimity If he has, with his correct sight, looked at a grain of sand, he has carried it to the sky with the arrow of sight. The pen, which is a burglar into the treasury of the mysteries of meaning, has done what it could possibly do at a signal from those fingers The great quote him as an authority in action and in speech, arguing that he has said so and done so (i.e., the actions of the great men are guided by his conduct)

The second is Khuddam-i-Malikul Kalam

Hemistich

Who is able to say what he himself is [1] From the balcony of discourse the drum of his being a *Sāhib Qirān*[2] has sounded in his name, and from the appearance of his Canopus-like speech the leather of tongues received colour The dazzling flow of his composition has a brightness from the blackness of which the note-book of morning is prepared, and his pen of bold composition is from a forest where lions lose heart. The rhymes which had hitherto been oppressed (i.e., improperly used by poets) are done full justice in his poetic collection of just foundation, and with his flowing genius whose slave is the fatigued sight, he is seen in conversation everywhere.[3]

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[1] That is, although it is not within one's power to describe one's own self, yet he can do it

[2] One born under the auspicious conjunction of Jupiter and Venus. It is the recognised cognomen of Timūr.

[3] If the word دَر is read as دُر in the sense of 'pearl' the meaning would be

The pearl of word is seen lying everywhere.

The sellers of inferior goods have no capital and power to open the shop of finding fault with his merchandise. His musk is from *Khutan*, and his cornelian is from *Yemen* A singer of love-songs of whom *Love* itself is enamoured, and to whom *Beauty* remains indebted! A composer of odes that if even kings wish that their names should take seat on the thrones of the tongues of people, they should scatter pearls and gold over him (so as to induce him to kindly mention their names in his composition to perpetuate their memory). The pearls of his meaning are from the sea of Spiritualism, and the gems of his words from the mine of Materialism The pinnacle of the ninth heaven which is frequented by his flight throws back his comrades' imagination Opulence picks up victuals from his poverty (*i e*, though outwardly rich, he is in reality living a life of a monk). He is an ointment with the comfort of a wounded heart (*i e.*, he serves as an ointment for those whose hearts are wounded, but himself enjoys the comfort of a wounded heart (*i.e*, glad to suffer pain for the sake of others) Do you make out what I mean? And who is the person of whom I speak?

Masnawi

What a noise of fame of the Qumī who adorns the assembly of the seekers of Divine knowledge! He was an ocean even at the time of his being a drop (*i.e*, in his early childhood he was endowed with the wisdom and knowledge of a sage divine). A king by name who has for his kingdom the empire of Word, the consolation of hearts gushes forth from the motion of his pen. If the words look like pearls it is from his casket; if they appear like the sun it is from his mansion When he places his wine jug the sky serves as a cup; when he takes to seclusion the tongue stands as a guard at his door He never gave a smile from his lip over an aggrieved face (*i.e.*, never laughed at the distress of people); on the contrary he has shed many a

tear. He so rubbed off the rust from the mirror of the eye that he saw the colour of smell and smelt the colour. Such an acute genius is rare of whom word and meaning are both proud. No face is more prominent in discourse than his; he dives into every word a hundred times. He carried the ruby of this mine in such a way as could enable him to show it at any time. He brings out speech from the marrow of the heart and the soul, and again introduces it into the heart and soul of his audience. Ay, the word as it rises up from its seat comes back to its seat again.[1]

The third Hazrat Shāh Khalīlullāh

who keeps the tenderness of the beloveds' hearts under the monopoly of his miraculous pen. People of delicate fancies who know the beauty of eloquence as *Suls* long to speak *Nasta'līq* with the tongue of his pen. In the art of penmanship he is so expert that the reverse of the saying "writing is half knowledge" can prove its truth vehemently and not inadvertently.[2] People are so much absorbed in seeing his writing that the thought of separation[3] from their beloveds has become an old story to them (*i.e.*, they have quite forgotten their beloveds and do no longer feel the pinch of

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[1] That is, the word, when it comes out from his brain and enters into that of his audience, does not passively remain at that level, but ascends to its original height again.

[2] That is, he has made writing so perfect that it is no more considered as half knowledge.

[3] The original reading is فراق, *i.e.*, 'separation,' but if it is read as فرق 'brow' or 'forehead,' the meaning would be that the forehead of a beloved has become old and devoid of any charm.

their separation) In truth this writing bears no comparison with that writing (*i.e.*, the downy hair on the cheeks of the beloved) since oldness is an ornament[1] to the former and a defect for the latter. Upon one who did not read the alphabet of the elements of the *royal constitution* (*i.e.*, did not see the beautiful stature of the king) the aptitude for reading the book of his own build did not become bright (*i.e.*, he could not understand his own *self* With the moisture of the fountain of his pen what beds of violet he has grown! and with the sweetness of his writing what plentiful sweet smiles he has given to letters. The eye of the on-lookers fixes itself on his writing in such a way that, when retiring, the eyes are still attracted by it.[2] His writing looked so thin that it seemed as if a book was written on every page thereof, but in reality it was so bold that it could be read on the forehead of the sky. Through the augustness of his pages the omen taken by all consulters is according to their desires, and on account of the length of the tongue of his pen the tongue of all

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[1] مفردات . Also means units and detached letters as opposed to مرکبات '*compound letters*' As such the meaning would be —

> Any one who did not make himself conversant with the alphabet of the king's simple writing would never possess the aptitude for apprehending his more difficult and complex composition.

[2] هم سرمه [illegible] : An idiomatic expression meaning to cause sound sleep سرمه : Antimony

> As a general rule one goes to sleep when antimony is applied to his eyes
>
> What the author means to say is that the eyes of the spectators are so much attracted by his penmanship that they do not go to sleep even at night, but remain open in the warm desire of getting a glimpse thereof.

critics is short. In imitating the style of writing he is ahead of all the ancient writers. All the poets have received the reward of their labours from him. His point satisfies the heart and his dot impresses the pupil of the eye)

Couplet

I am afraid that the pen may escape from his hand, and all of a sudden it may draw a line on all writings (*i e*, cancel them).

Verses

In decorating the page of Time his attractive writing is like the soft hair on the cheek of the beloved

In writing the heading he is so renowned that the cheek of the fair uses it as a model in practice for writing

Quatrains

One who has not spoken of his pen is not an eloquent speaker, what pearls of meaning are there that have not been perforated by the point of his pen? If he wrote the word 'thorn' it pricked into the heart of the enemy; if he wrote the world 'flower' it blossomed on the face of the friend.

Those who are active in search for jewels leave off this idea and become seekers after his writing

Writings in Khurāsān melted into water, otherwise the people of 'Irāq would have themselves gone there to wash them off with the water of shame

The fourth Maulāna Farrukh Husain

than whose painting nothing better can be imagined. The expert painters take pride in being his pupils, and having adopted the outline of his plain sketch as their model put their lives under obligation. From the sight of his black pen the green-haired (the beautiful) have learnt wiles. The freshness of his painting has

put the portrait of the beautiful to shame, and has thrown it into the whirlpool of the jealousy of his painting He paints the musk-navel and people smell its fragrance, he sows tulip and they reap its colour (i e, he turns the effect into cause, and allegory into reality)

Poem

With the portraits of the heart-bewitching beauties he washed off the impression of patience (i e, the sight of his painting makes men lose all patience)

He represents the thorn so exquisitely that the eyes of the critics are pricked If the waterfowl of his painting shakes its wings, the face of those present becomes wet with the falling of drops After finishing the decoration of the flower he busied himself in depicting the voice of the nightingale That magical painter has put in motion the breeze which throws aside the veil from the face of the beautiful.

The fifth is Khuddām Mulla Haider Zehnī,

who with the saltishness of words and the sweetness of expression has been the first to place salt and sugar one over the other The tree of his love has caused fibres to run into the hearts of men He has got the writ of universal popularity attested by dignitaries He is a trader in goods whose articles of abusive words are bought at the price of benediction, and pure coins are spent in the purchase of something defective. On account of the jealousy for his richly coloured speech the ruby is a worthless shell immersed in blood and beside the sweetness of his speech the position of honey is like that of a saucer licked clean. In the case of one the fame of whose prose is so great it is easy to guess what the extent of his poetry should be.

The Sixth is Zuhūrī

who admittedly occupies the prominent seat in the last row, and in point of humility is ahead of all who sit last. Though he

does not hold a rank worthy of being knitted in the thread of jewellers, yet in being a partner in decorating the *Rose-garden* of Abraham before now, and at present in spreading the Table of the Friend of God, he stands a peer and a match of the poet-laureate who has no parallel in the world. And Time in making this distinction has done no such act as can ever be found fault with What is rejected by it is rejected by all, and what is accepted by it is accepted everywhere Whomsoever it approved met with universal approval, and whatever it did not weigh proved light.

Masnawī

There is no error in the judgment of Time, it never took this for that nor that for this. In its hand there is a transparent mirror, everything good or bad is reflected therein If like gold iron be coined, even the tip of a blind man's finger would distinguish it A boy of sweet movement with a sour look can know vinegar from milk.

On this basis it seemed inevitable for the sake of others that, having paid heed to my own self, I should not contain for joy on account of this connection,[1] and should not make the scale of my fellow-associate[2] weigh against the earth and the sky Though in the garden of seventy years of age the tree of my intellect has cast off the petals of flowers, yet the case is not such that in the spring of the eulogy of my master the ripeness of old age may not be in working order, and the jollity of youth may not be laden with fruits

[1] A reference to his connection with Qumī as co-partner and collaborator in producing this preface.

[2] طرف گرفتهٔ خود One whom I have won over to my side, *i.e.*, my friend and associate, Malik Qumī.

Poetry

I am the fresh fruit of the tree of this old garden, my juicy verse left no lip dry I write a letter on water with my finger, and it is not washed off by the flood of a deep sea.

When I place the tray of my description in an assembly, I put speech in the mouth of the faculty of speech.

What poet is there in this assembly who is not in love with my verse

I give the wine cup of *unity* in *multiplicity*, I place the snare of multiplicity in seclusion.

My omen is auspicious for those who take omens, since from my utterances they see their wishes fulfilled to their satisfaction

The masters of the art of writing are so successful through my poetic composition that the Dog-star is ready to sacrifice itself to their prose

My love-poems are pure gold and un-alloyed silver, the runaway deer was charmed by them

By my verses the lip of the musicians derives benefit; they sing my praise in a loud voice.

The penitent recite my name; the drinkers themselves belong to my class.

This preface is an open letter by Zuhūrī to the denizens of the four quarters of the globe, that they may on every side, having turned their faces to the Ka'ba of their desires, know the place of Ibrāhīm to be their centre, and should not, through negligence, make themselves deprived and beyond reach of the pale of his patronage. Those who are well-to-do are enjoined to go round the place of Abraham, and take a journey to Hedjaz, but this place, on the contrary, is strongly recommended for

[1] An allusion to مقام ابراهیم 'the place of Abraham, in the sanctuary of Ka'ba.

the visit of the indigent. Who has ever seen a purchaser whose earnest money exceeds the price of the commodity itself? Who ever has heard of a capitalist who has bought a grain of art for a treasure of gold? Polish your mirror (i.e., acquire merit), so that he may take you in his arms by paying a sun (i.e., purchase you at a high price); secure a green leaf so that, making you a nosegay, he may place you on his head He graces with his praise everything according to the degree of its worth, except a verse containing the disparagement of his enemies which, however prominent and conspicuous, is utterly neglected by him without ever being seen or heard

Hemistich

Why should not civility feel proud, for it has seen such a master?

In his love leave your native land, and do not remain in exile at home Put the dust of his trodden path on your face, and live honourably If luckily any one feels contented with the acquirement of wealth, rank, learning and art, he should, for the culture of good manners and excellent qualities, start on his way headlong, so that he may realise the extent of the King's pomp and grandeur, dignity and glory, and the degree of his decorum and modesty, patience and tolerance. One day, incidentally they were talking of mildness and forbearance (saying) that if kings had not the power of tolerance God would not have exalted them. We have been given superiority over the rest of the creation because we are not a step behind them in enduring severity To be unable to buy much of the forgiveness of the small (i e., subordinates) is due to the smallness of the capital of greatness;[1] and to feed fat on the

[1] That is, to fail to forgive the faults of the subordinates is indicative of one's want of greatness.

lean is itself due to weakness. It should be noticed what the remedy of inflammation is There is no time when pamphlet after pamphlet of such discourse was not being read, and there are not enough pages in the book to cover the subject-matter, and if any one during the whole of his lifetime talks of it he is sure to be always running at the starting point. Hence it is better to conclude it. The story is ended with this prayer.

Couplet

As long as the Table of the Friend of God is brought into recollection in this guest-house, may Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shah be the host of the people

THE END

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A

B

The Hon'ble Justice Sir S. M. Sulaimān, LL.D., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.

ALLAHABAD,
Dated 14th April, 1930.

DEAR MR. 'ABDUL GHANI,

It is very kind of you to send me the two volumes of your 'History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court' I am reading them with very great pleasure indeed They embody the results of considerable research on your part I have no doubt they will be found very valuable This will be a unique history which, I am sure, will be highly appreciated by the scholars of Persian

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Dr. M. B. Rehman, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Persian and Urdu, Lucknow University (now Principal, Ismā'il College, Andheri, Bombay):

BADSHAH BAGH, LUCKNOW,
28th November, 1929

MY DEAR PROF. GHANI,

I thank you for the copy of Vol I of your 'History of Persian Language and Literature in India.' It was a pleasure to read through the book. It is a pioneer work in this field. I congratulate you on the attempt, and sincerely wish that you will find time to complete it. The history of Urdu language and literature, which finds a place in your scholarly work, had all its material scattered. The students of Urdu will be greatly obliged to you for summing it up so beautifully.

The Meeting of the Committee of the Courses and Studies in Persian comes off in February next, and I shall place your book before it for consideration.

Dr. Muhammad Iqbāl, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor, Punjab :

ORIENTAL COLLEGE, LAHORE,

17th December, 1929

DEAR PROFESSOR GHANI,

Many thanks for the copy of your valuable book "A History of Persian Literature at the Mughal Court." I have gone through it with profit and pleasure. Let the remaining volumes come out and we shall then consider the entire work for recommendation as a prescribed course of study for some of our Degree examinations We hope that by October, 1930, the whole work will be completely published

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Dr. A. H. Mansūr, M.A., D.Phil.

BERLIN, HERBERTSTRASSE, 7.

2nd April, 1930.

DEAR PROF. GHANI,

I thank you very much for sending me the two volumes of your 'History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court.' It is a work of remarkable ability and research, and recounts in great detail the relations between the Persian Persian and the Indian

Persian. It supplements and corrects in many curious ways the inadequate and faulty narratives of some of the responsible Persian and English authors of the 19th Century. It is indeed a very real and very valuable contribution to oriental learning.

Mr. G. K. Nariman (Journalist)
Editor, "Irān League"

3RD VICTORIA CROSS ROAD, MAZGAON, P O.
BOMBAY, 10.

DEAR PROF. GHANI,

I have been shown your "History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court" I find it most interesting. So far as I know, you are the first authority to point out the importance of Persian literature developed in India. Unfortunately the tendency of the Persians from of old has been to disparage the Persian literature of India. But you have shown discriminating and just appreciation.

The Calcutta Review,
February, 1930

This is a welcome addition to other books already existing on the subject.

After the publication of *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam* by Shiblī Nu'mānī there was a great move to construct a literary

history of the Persian language on the lines similar to *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam* under the title of *Shi'r-ul-Hind*, so as to determine what part India played in the growth of Persian language and literature.

The author also felt a real need that India should have a good history of the development of the Persian language of its own. With this object in view he undertook to accomplish this task, and has finished his labour, which is going to be published in *three* parts, covering the development of Persian literature under Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar. The author in dealing with the subject has attempted to show to what extent Hindī and Prakrits have influenced the Persian language in India. He has given a few instances of novel but graceful blending of Persian with Hindī from the works of famous Persian poets such as Manuchehrī and Hakīm Sinā'ī.

He states that Persian language and idiom was well preserved in India till about the 19th century, but since then it began to lose its ground, and intermixture began to creep in, and there is now a great divergence between the Persian of Persia and the Persian of India.

The book has many interesting informations and extracts from original sources. It is nicely got up and beautifully bound. We hope the other instalments of this series will be more interesting and helpful to the students of Persian and Urdu literature alike.

Note.—The following letter of the late Professor E. G. Browne, mentioning the author's third and last Essay on *Akbar*, which was then in the course of preparation, after the completion of the Essays on *Bābur* and *Humāyūn* already seen by him, is reproduced here in facsimile. He read *Akbar* only in parts, as the work progressed, during his protracted illness, and hoped to go through it again, when completed, after his recovery Unfortunately his illness proved fatal, and the author did not get the benefit of his wise and judicious criticism which is a matter of deep regret to the writer.

Jan 24 1925

FIRWOOD,
TRUMPINGTON ROAD,
CAMBRIDGE

Dear Mr. Abdu'l-Ghani,

Many thanks for your kind letter of condolence. I am much better, but much limited in my activities by doctor's orders. I am very sorry not to be lecturing this Term.

I hope to see your essay, which sounds very interesting, before long. As I give Roger [?], I hope to be allowed to see more people. At present I can only see

a few each day

I had the enclosed letter (which I wanted back) yesterday, and suggested you as the most suitable scholar to do this for a [illegible] book.

De

If you are able to spare the time (as if your heart for the lady, you will know how, is come about)

l.

b.

Remain,

a

Yours sincerely

a

Edward G. Browne